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1,200 CLERGYMEN IN PETITION

Washington meeting to free Sobell asks 'Christmas miracle'

By Joanne Grant
Guardian staff correspondent

WASHINGTON

MORE THAN 250 persons came to a "Freedom Weekend" conference Nov. 19-21 at the Hotel Shoreham, Washington, D. C. and called for a "Christmas miracle" of Presidential clemency for Morton Sobell. The conference was sponsored by the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell.

Aspects of the trial in which Sobell was sentenced to 30 years in prison on a charge of conspiracy to commit espionage came under attack by the conference speakers: Rev. John Paul Jones of Ashfield, Mass.; Burns Chalmers of the American Friends Service Committee, Washington, D. C.; Rev. Nelson C. Pierce of Palisades Community Church, Washington; Stephen S. Love, professor of law at Northwestern University, Chicago, and Thomas I. Emerson, professor of law at Yale University. On Monday, Nov. 21, a delegation of clergymen at the conference presented to U.S. Pardons Attorney Reed Cozart an appeal adressed to President Eisenhower signed by 1,200 clergymen urging a new trial for Sobell or commutation of his sentence.

A TIME OF HYSTERIA: At a panel discussion on facts and issues in the case Sunday, Nov. 20, Professor Emerson criticized the government's handling of the case. He said the jury's verdict "reflected the hysteria and pressures of the time more than a rational weighing of the evidence before it." Pointing out that the trial came at the time of the House Committee on Un-American Activities' infamous hearing on Hollywood, Emerson said that the time "was hardly a period

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ABOLISH
MISSILE SUBS
DEFEND FREEDOM
BY NON-VIOLENCE

THREE MEN IN A BOAT: THEIR MISSION WAS SURVIVAL OF MAN
For details of their non-violent purpose in Charleston, S.C., see p. 6

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WASHINGTON IRKED BY NEUTRALS' STAND

Asian-Africans back disarmament at UN

By Kumar Goshal

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

A SIGNIFICANT disarmament proposal was placed before the 98-member UN First (Political) Committee on Nov. 15 by nine Asian-African delegates, one Latin American and one East European. The resolution and the ensuing sharp debate revealed the widespread anxiety at the UN over the East-West impasse. They also were a measure of (1) the growing stature of the Asian-African members; (2) the frightening frigidity of the U.S. position on disarmament, and (3) the West's refusal to understand what Asian-Africans mean by "neutralism."

The resolution was sponsored by India, Burma, Cambodia, Ghana, Indonesia, Iraq, Morocco, Nepal, the United Arab Republic, Venezuela and Yugoslavia. It made concessions to both East and West and was designed to promote early resumption of East-West disarmament negotiations.

A QUESTION OF TIME: In introducing the proposal India's Krishna Menon warned that "time is not with us" and that elimination of arms was "not only imperative but urgent." He asked for the First Committee's unanimous approval for the resolution which would call on the UN General Assembly to give "directives" for putting into effect "general and complete disarmament." The directives would call for agreements, among others, on the following:

- Elimination of armed forces, armaments and arms production.
- Total prohibition of the manufacture and use of nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons of war.
- Elimination of all means of delivery of mass destruction weapons and of military bases and rocket-launching sites on national and foreign soil.
- Maintenance of armed forces and weapons adequate only for internal security and contribution to a UN international peace force.
- Changes in the UN structure necessary to prevent use of the international peace force for purposes inconsistent with the UN Charter or in the interests of one state or group of states against another state or group of states.
- Effective machinery of inspection and control at each stage in the process of carrying out total disarmament.

WASHINGTON FIRM: Soviet chief delegate Zorin immediately welcomed the proposal; U.S. chief delegate Wadsworth

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Report to Readers: The Caribbean, fidelismo and gunboats

THE PRESIDENT, in Georgia for twelve days of golf topped off with a day of quail shooting before Thanksgiving, found no need to intervene in Louisiana, where the state government fomented mob action against a handful of Negro first-graders seeking to enter New Orleans white public schools for the first time.

But when the President of Guatemala, following an abortive uprising of army officers, called for U.S. protection on the unsupported ground that the uprising was fomented by Cuba, our nation's president authorized the assignment of the 70-plane aircraft carrier, **Shangri-La**, five destroyers and two Navy reconnaissance planes from Florida to police the Caribbean. In addition the Navy's Squadron 10, with a complement of 2,000 Marines aboard the assault-helicopter carrier **Boxer** and other ships, also was deployed in the Caribbean in what the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** called an "obvious . . . show of force."

ANYTHING that can detour the present President from his golf game is worth headlines, and the action in response to Guatemala (joined by Nicaragua) was no exception—the story got screaming headlines all over the hemisphere, and editorial applause from all armchair supporters of gunboat diplomacy.

Inquisitive reporters soon discovered, however, that the fleet had been patrolling Guatemala's pinpoint shore line on the Caribbean for at least five days before the President's announcement—an action undertaken by the Navy, reporters were told, in response to "oral" requests from Guatemala and Nicaragua. Later, when the two countries decided to put their requests in writing and Guatemala's President Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes planned to make his request public, reporters were told that President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Herter decided on a White House announcement.

How a foreign country goes about making an "oral" request to another country's navy without going to the chief of state is a matter no correspondent dug into, but following the White House announcement, Washington correspondents pointed out that when rebellion struck against President Luis A. Somoza Debayle of Nicaragua on Nov. 11 and that weekend against Ydigoras in Guatemala, both countries charged that the revolts were Cuban-instigated. The State Department on Nov. 14 and right up to the time of the White House announcement, told Washington correspondents that it had no evidence of Cuban complicity.

FROM THE FOREGOING, it appears that the State Dept. and probably the President himself, were unaware of the Navy's action or unwilling to publicize it until imminent publicity from some other source forced a White House announcement of the Navy's activity..

(Continued on Page 2)

THE MAIL BAG

DO something

LONG BEACH, CALIF.

The proposal to organize a third party to represent the interests of the farmers, labor and small business is analogous to Mark Twain's comment about the weather—so I suggest we do something about it.

Could we form a committee and communicate with those labor leaders who favor such action, also with the farmers' organizations and with any organizations that may exist that represent small business?

We have been placed in the position of supporting the lesser of two evils too long.

E. N. Diebler

A united Left

JACKSONVILLE, MO.

Let us all help build a new People's Party for 1964—by getting together and uniting all, or as many as possible, of the now small splinter parties.

Let us have a united left front for peace, parity and prosperity.

John L. Widner

Quit quibbling

ST. MARYS, OHIO

Socialists in America quibble as to how to get together and form an organization and what tactics to use to get our aims. Our Constitution gives us the right to make any changes within the general welfare of all the people of our country. We need to get together and quit quibbling over how we aim to do it.

We need to get on the ballot in every state, and we must organize to accomplish that. So why argue about tactics? We should have nothing to hide behind the closed doors from certain groups which in reality have the same final aims.

C. J. H. W.

The Missouri score

ST. LOUIS, MO.

The election score in Missouri is as follows:

1. The first Negro elected to the State Senate. He is Theodore McNeal, vice-president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

2. This makes two labor officials in the Upper House. The other Senator is Robert Pentland, business representative of Local 688 of the Teamsters Union, who was re-elected to his fourth term.

3. In the Lower House there are: re-elected Frank Kostron, a brewery worker, and John O'Reilly, a machine operator. Elected for first term is Joseph Ames, secretary-treasurer of Local 410, Institutional and Public Employees Union.

4. In Lower House are four Negro representatives: J. McKinley Neal from Kansas City, re-elected for the 8th term; and three from St. Louis: Henry W. Wheeler, Rev. William Wright and Hugh J. White, an attorney.

5. The Republicans, who had one Congressman, now have two. In addition, Congressman Morgan Moulder is spending some sleepless nights: he may not return to Washington and the Un-American Activities Committee. He voted for the natural gas lobby, gave jobs to his relatives, and was exposed in **Life** for spending $50 a night in hotels in New York while on committee "business." If he loses, the Republicans will have three Congressmen. I think we can afford to lose him!

Pretty good for a "border" state.

Sol Derman

Redoubled efforts

CUYAHOGA FALLS, O.

Once more the anguished search for the right way to vote is over. This year the search was particularly demoralizing for lib- radical voters. Some decided to abstain; some searched for political crumbs which fell out of Kennedy's back pockets as he ranted against Cuba and urged greater sacrifice for the arms race; others saw fet to write in names of pet candidates, usually leaders of protest movements; still others favored minority party candidates Hass or Dobbs.

The lack of unity among progressives points up the urgent need for an electoral rallying point, if only for protest. Farrell Dobbs' candidacy was the closest thing we had this time. But now, since the election was all but meaningless this year, let's redouble our efforts in protest movements where our strength is felt far more than on the ballot. Above all, let's dedicate ourselves to building a Labor-Negro-Peace Party, so that next election, we can concentrate our influence.

R. C. M.

We shall see

MARBLEHEAD, MASS.

Despite my strong, vociferous opposition to Sen. Kennedy, I voted for him since I felt it was obvious that most liberals and leftists were doing so, and it was important that he win so we can find out once and for all whether this socialist faith in Kennedy is the "grand illusion," as I suspect.

Since he has been elected, Kennedy has indicated that he will use President Eisenhower in some capacity, and seems favorable to using Mr. Nixon. There is talk that the President-elect will now dump Stevenson and Bowles as possible Secretaries of State, kick Adlai upstairs to the UN where he'll be an errand boy, and put Fulbright in as Secretary of State.

I talked to many liberals who voted for Nixon as the lesser of two evils. They felt Kennedy would get us into war. We shall see what we shall see.

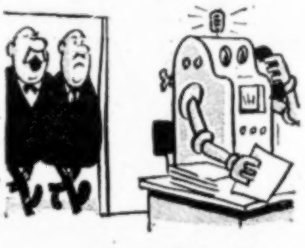
Rev. Hugh Weston

Homo imbecillus

OAKLAND, CALIF.

At the time of this writing (Nov. 5) 100 persons ranging in age from two months to 68 years, and constituting members of whole families, have entered a specially prepared bomb shelter at Camp Parks near Pleasanton, Calif. They will spend a week-end enjoying their underground hacienda—100 persons in a rectangular pill box about the size of an ordinary schoolroom. Fifty-three adults and their 47 children will be happily buried for 48 hours three feet beneath the turf like living gophers in a trap. It's another test conducted by the San Francisco Naval Radiological Defense Laboratory and the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization to discover some way in which homo imbecillus may escape the results of his own colossal idiocy.

Hugh Robert Orr



Eccles, London Daily Worker

"That little red-head still in your office?"

A for politics

CROMWELL, CONN.

Probably somebody has already called your attention to a misspelling of "supersede" in your excellent editorial (Oct. 31) on the November elections. I noticed this because I won a spelling contest when I was hardly more than a child on the basis of this word, having remembered the derivation from my first year Latin. However, your editorial was so good that you go to the head of the class anyway.

Emily Pierson

1964 ticket

OAKLAND, CALIF.

Let us now organize for 1964 so that we will not be caught flat-footed and forced into all kinds of rationalizations in order to get ourselves in or out of an election booth four years from now.

The two most eligible candidates for President and Vice-President are Linus Pauling and Martin Luther King, in either order. Here is a team of integrity, knowledge and ability to get somewhere with a program. Either one would make an outstanding President of the United States.

If I can find one or more persons to join with me, I intend to form a "Pauling and King for 1964 Club" here in the Bay Area.

Robert E. Schneider
Nottingham Drive

Detective work

SOUTH NORWALK, CONN.

I was delighted to see your review of Le Ghait's **No Carte Blanche to Capricorn**—the folly of H-bomb "strategy." But, as with other good books today, it is not easy to get a copy. The publisher will give a substantial discount for quantity purchases. I found this out by tracking down Bookfield House at 156 Fifth Av., N.Y.C. and by buying 100 copies for myself and friends. Sold 60 in one week!

Roger Willcox

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

MIAMI BEACH, Fla., Oct. 29 (AP)—"The greatest threat that faces America today is the chance that Russia's Nikita Khrushchev may come forward with a genuine peace proposal that cannot be refused," said Mr. T. Coleman Andrews, president and board chairman of the American Fidelity and Casualty Company of Richmond, Va.

—New York **Times**, Oct. 30

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: R. F., New Rochelle, N.Y.

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

THE MAKE-UP OF THE 82ND CONGRESS—49 so-called Democrats to 47 Republicans in the Senate, and the Democratic majority reduced by two-thirds in the House—places the Dixiecrats in virtual control of domestic legislation and, by holding the purse-strings, of U.S. foreign policy. Symbolic of their dominance is the organized drive to nominate Richard B. Russell of Georgia, generalissimo of the White Supremacy contingent, as majority leader in the Senate.

Should Truman wage a fight for the Fair Deal he might get some of it through the House, but the arithmetic in the Senate is simple. Truman's 49 Democrats will probably unite on control of committees and patronage, but 22 of them are from former Confederate states and at least 12 are of the deepest Dixiecrat blend. Thus, to pass any Fair Deal legislation Truman would need at least 12 Republicans to vote on his team; but all but seven of the Senate's Republicans are unalterably opposed to the Fair Deal and all its works.

—From the National Guardian, Nov. 29, 1950

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REPORT TO READERS

Fidelismo and gunboats

(Continued from Page 1)

More than a week before the White House announcement, the GUARDIAN learned of reports of a concentration of naval vessels without markings in the area of Puerto Barrios, Guatemala's port on the Caribbean. The vessels were presumed by Cuban reconnaissance to be U.S. craft, and were immediately linked with earlier reports reaching Cuba of a build-up for an invasion of Cuba from Guatemala. Cuba breathed a bit easier when the vessels, said to number 13, disappeared from the area.

THEN LAST WEEK the **Nation,** in an exclusive report (11/19) which no newspaper has yet published or commented on to our knowledge, disclosed that Dr. Ronald Hilton, director of Stanford University's Institute of Hispanic-American Studies, had recently returned from Guatemala with reports that:

"1. The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency has acquired a large tract of land, at an outlay in excess of $1,000,000, which is stoutly fenced and heavily guarded. Dr. Hilton was informed that it is 'common knowledge' in Guatemala that the tract is being used as a training ground for Cuban counter-revolutionaries who are preparing for an eventual landing in Cuba. It was also said that U.S. personnel and equipment are being used at the base. The camp is said to be located in Retahuleu, between Guatemala City and the coast."

Dr. Hilton's report said the foregoing was reported by the director of the Guatemalan newspaper **La Hora** in violation of a government prohibition against any public discussion of the matter; and that ultimately President Ydigoras admitted the existence of the base during a TV appearance, but refused to discuss it further.

Commenting on Dr. Hilton's report in its Nov. 19 issue, which went to press before the White House announcement of the Navy deployment in the Caribbean, the **Nation** said: "Fidel Castro may have a sounder basis for his expressed fears of a U.S.-financed 'Guatemala-type' invasion than most of us realize."

The term "Guatemala-type" invasion recalls the difference between Sen. John F. Kennedy and Vice-President Richard Nixon in their TV debate, in which Kennedy proposed supporting "anti-Batista" Cuban expatriates in this country in an attack on Cuba, while Nixon proposed an approach to the problem such as was employed in overthrowing the Arbenz reform government in Guatemala in 1954—a near admission of what everyone else now says freely, that the U.S. C.I.A. staged the invasion of Guatemala from Honduras which overthrew Arbenz and installed the Castillo Armas government, of which Ydigoras is the heir.

WHILE NO PRESS EDITORIAL other than the **Nation's** has countenanced the possibility—quickly charged by Cuba—that the U.S. buildup in the Caribbean might have been regarded as a "cover" for an invasion of Cuba from Guatemala, several have cocked a wary eye at the proceedings. The N.Y. **Post** saw a "hint of a synthetic crisis" in the situation, and expressed the "uneasy feeling" that the large naval-air units assigned by the President "to seek out and prevent" possible invasion of Guatemala from Cuba are "looking for more trouble in the Caribbean than already exists." The St. Petersburg (Fla.) **Times** questioned, as did the Washington **Post** and the N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** why response to the requests of Guatemala and Nicaragua was not directed through the Organization of American States, as in the case of Panama last year. On that occasion, in April, 1959, when Panama was invaded by a landing party allegedly from Cuba, two gunboats off the Panama coast were considered sufficient. The St. Petersburg **Times** noted that Guatemala had actually asked postponement of an OAS investigation of its charges that Cuba was behind the Nov. 12 uprising, and urged the White House to act through the OAS or tell us "what is the full story?"

Though the N.Y. **Times** editorially supported the White House action to the letter, its correspondents in Washington and in Guatemala shed a different light on what is happening in Latin America. Paul Kennedy, writing from Guatemala, noted that it has become "more or less customary" for Latin American chiefs of state "to attribute even minor disturbances to Castro agents." While there is disagreement over "the physical contribution of Premier Fidel Castro's Cuba" to unrest in Guatemala, there is little disagreement, Kennedy wrote, over the psychological impact of "fidelismo," the concept of revolt against existing social and political forms in the Caribbean region. The upheavals had long been in the making, he wrote,

(Continued on Page 11)

A FORECAST: IT LOOKS LIKE THE OLD CAUTIOUS COALITION

How the Kennedy Administration shapes up

By Russ Nixon
Guardian staff correspondent

WASHINGTON

PRESIDENT-ELECT Kennedy's pilgrimage to Vice President Nixon in Florida and to Vice President-elect Lyndon Johnson and Speaker Sam Rayburn in Texas suggests the probable character of the new Administration—a coalition of cautious moderation with Republicans and Southerners. The closeness of the vote, the key role of the South in the election and the influence of its representative, Sen. Johnson, as well as Kennedy's past tendencies all point in this direction.

Kennedy did not use his new eminence to have Nixon and Johnson come to him; he made the trips. Not unusual, however, was Sen. Kennedy's instinct for conservatism. In 1950, he gave his support in some areas to Republicans and Dixiecrats running against Democratic liberals. Kennedy always managed to collaborate closely with Republican Sen. Leverett Saltonstall of Massachusetts. He refused to support Saltonstall's Democratic opponent in 1954, and gave only token endorsement to the Democratic Senatorial candidate running against Saltonstall this year. In the Congress the bipartisan collaboration between Kennedy and Saltonstall was so close and unusual that it furnished the Republican with major ammunition in his successful campaign for reelection this year.

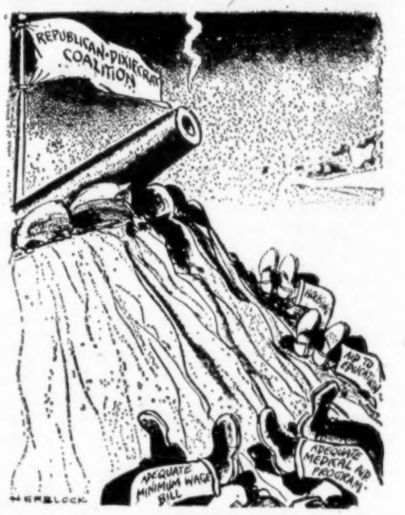
Kennedy has long had close and friendly ties with Southern politicians and Congressional leaders, as was dramatically reflected in the support the South gave him in his losing race against Sen. Estes Kefauver (D-Tenn.) for the Vice Presidential nomination in 1956.

AN EXCUSE: Some observers believe that in some ways Kennedy welcomes the close margin of his victory. It can serve as an excuse both for a coalition approach that blunts the liberal program, and for limited results in Congress and the granting of large concessions to the conservatives. The close vote and the liberal losses in Congress may be used to minimize the new President's responsibility compared to the challenge a landslide and a strengthened Congress would have presented.

Kennedy's victory is extremely narrow. The percentage margin of difference may be the smallest in history, certainly the smallest since 1884. With almost all votes counted, Kennedy had 178,774 more votes than Nixon, or 50.1 percent of the total. Other candidates were reported as receiving 448,412 votes, so Kennedy is definitely a minority choice. How much so will depend on the total of minor party votes finally counted, on the number of voters who skipped the Presidential line altogether, and on the indeterminate number of votes cast for other candidates but not counted.

Nixon could have won by a shift of 16,118 votes of the more than 68,000,000 cast. A change of 4,683 votes would have given Illinois' 27 electoral votes to Nixon, a shift of 10,196 votes in New Jersey would have transferred 16 electoral votes from Kennedy, and 1,239 more Nixon votes in New Mexico would have given him the final victory.

ROLE OF THE SOUTH: With such close results, every major state and every group supporting Kennedy may claim to have been "the deciding element" in the victory. Certainly the special efforts of the AFL-CIO to register its members for the Democratic ticket played an essential role in the industrial states which were the basis of Kennedy's victory. Negro voters who gave much support to Eisenhower in 1956 gave overwhelming support to Kennedy. Richard M. Scammon, director of elections research at the Governmental Affairs Institute, states that "in at least four key states—New Jersey, Michigan, Illinois, and South Carolina—Negro Democratic votes far exceeded the margin of Kennedy victory." (**New Republic,** Nov. 21).


REPUBLICAN-DIXIECRAT COALITION
HOUSING
AID TO EDUCATION
ADEQUATE MEDICAL AID PROGRAM
ADEQUATE MINIMUM WAGE BILL
HERBLOCK

Herblock, Washington Post

"All quiet along the Potomac."

But it is the South that may receive special credit for the Kennedy victory. If the unpledged electoral college delegates from Alabama and Mississippi support Kennedy, the 13 Southern states will have given 95 votes to the Democrats and 51 to Nixon. In 1956 these states gave Stevenson 60 and Eisenhower 85 votes.

No Democratic candidate for Congress or the Senate rode to victory on Sen. Kennedy's coat-tails. Quite the contrary. In most states Kennedy ran behind the other state-wide candidates for the Senate or Governor, and behind the Democratic totals for Congressional candidates. For example, in Illinois, where Kennedy barely won a majority, Sen. Paul Douglas beat his Republican opponent by 420,000 votes. In Minnesota, where Kennedy's margin was only 22,010 votes, Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey won reelection by more than 272,000. Kennedy failed to be of help to his fellow candidates because of the narrowness of his own victory, because he failed to create any wave of enthusiasm for liberal policies, and because of really massive anti-Catholic voting, particularly in the Midwest.

ANTI-CATHOLIC VOTE: The extent of the anti-Catholic sentiment has been underestimated. It probably caused the defeat of liberal Democratic candidates for the Senate in South Dakota, Iowa, Kansas and Indiana. Joined with Kennedy's failure to lead a liberal crusade, the anti-Catholic sentiment resulted in the defeat of a dozen Democrats in the Midwest.

The first indication of the extent of the Kennedy-Dixiecrat-GOP coalition will become apparent when Congress meets Jan. 3, 1961, and considers whether to change its undemocratic rules and the Dixiecrat seniority control of committees.

UPHAUS LOSES; BRADEN HEARD

Justice Black sounds alarm on the loss of our liberties

By William A. Price
Special to the Guardian

WASHINGTON

"I THINK THE SUMMARY dismissal of this appeal without even so much as the benefit of oral argument, when the abridgement of the rights of free speech and assembly is so obvious, is a sad indication of just how far this Court has already departed from the protections of the Bill of Rights and an omen of things to come."

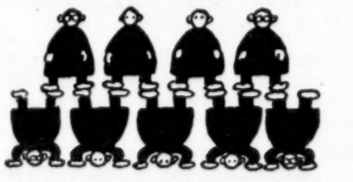
So spoke Justice Hugo L. Black Nov. 14 in a dissent from the Supreme Court's dismissal of a request that it review the conviction of Dr. Willard Uphaus. The decision will force Dr. Uphaus to serve the remainder of his one-year sentence in the Merrimac County Jail, Boscawen, N.H.

Justice Black's dissent swept legalisms aside and charged that the court's substitution of "elastic concepts" for the "plain language of the Bill of Rights" had reduced "the absolute commands of the Constitution to mere admonitions."

Black added: "I think it is time for all who cherish the liberties guaranteed by the Bill of Rights to look closely at the disastrous consequences upon those liberties which have resulted from the Court's use of such concepts."

DOUGLAS DISSENTS: It is unusual for Supreme Court justices to announce from the bench the dismissal of a request for review and even more unusual for them to comment on such a dismissal. But in this case Black was joined by Chief Justice Earl Warren and Justice William O. Douglas.

Douglas also wrote his own dissent, which was joined by Warren and Black. He tied the Uphaus case with that of Mrs. Daisy Bates, integration leader of Little Rock, Ark., who had won the right to keep NAACP membership lists from exposure. He wrote: "The Bates case and the Uphaus case put into focus for the first time the responsibility of an individual to make disclosure of membership lists. We cannot administer justice with an even hand if we allow Bates to go free and Uphaus to languish in prison."



OTHER DECISIONS: The unusual dissents highlighted a week in which the Supreme Court also:

- Refused without comment to review a decision of the Federal Communications Commission denying a radio operator's license to Morton Borrow of Philadelphia because he refused to answer two questions concerning possible Communist affiliation.
- Refused to stay the deportation of Hamish Scott Mackay and William A. Mackie of Portland, Ore., who the Immigration Service has charged were communists, although both denied it.
- Rejected the appeal from a contempt of Congress conviction of Arthur McPhaul, Negro civil rights leader and former auto worker, who refused in 1952 to turn over the membership lists and other records of the Civil Rights Congress of Detroit to the House Committee on Un-American Activities. He must now serve nine months in prison and pay a $500 fine.
- Heard arguments on the appeals of Carl Braden of Louisville, Ky., and Frank Wilkinson of Los Angeles from contempt convictions for their refusals on First Amendment grounds to answer questions before the House Committee on Un-American Activities during 1958 hearings in Atlanta, Ga. Both face a year in prison if the court affirms their convictions.

SILENCE THE CRITICS: In a brief submitted shortly before oral argument on the case Nov. 17, Braden's attorneys described the House Committee as "a major repressive force in this country against the exercise of activities protected by the First Amendment," and called for the reconsideration of the court's decision which sent Lloyd Barenblatt to jail for six months last year and which the government contends should be binding in the Braden and Wilkinson cases.

Lawyers for Braden and Wilkinson attacked the record of the House committee and struggled for a foothold to shift the 5 to 4 majority which has sent five First Amendment defendants to jail in the past year. Arguing for Braden, Leonard Boudin of New York City pointed out that Southern Negro leaders had opposed the Atlanta hearings because they attempted to equate integration with "un-Americanism." He charged that the committee's use of the subpena in both cases was an attempt to "stifle critics of the committee" in a "violent extension" of the court's ruling in the Barenblatt case.

Boudin warned of a "complete revolution here since Barenblatt" and that "one grant of power leads to a demand for further power." He attacked the concept that the House committee could decide that any organization was "subversive" and then require it to produce membership lists and records, a concept inherent in the McPhaul decision of three days earlier.

BRADEN LETTER: Rowland Watts, national counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union, representing Frank Wilkinson, noted Wilkinson's challenge to the mandate of the House committe and challenged the committee's authority to subpena a witness "because he was engaged in a campaign" against it.

Throughout the afternoon in which both cases were heard, four of the justices were highly critical of the House committee. They referred especially to the fact that a letter by Carl Braden asking public support for opposition to bills in Congress which restored state sedition laws had been listed as one reason for calling him.

Chief Justice Warren asked a government attorney: "If the committee has a right to ask Braden about letters he wrote, wouldn't it have the right to call before it anyone who wrote a letter to Congress about the committte, stand him before it and interrogate him as to his beliefs?"

BLACK'S WARNING: Obviously exasperated by the tone of the questions asked by Justices Warren, Black, Brennan and Stewart, Justice Felix Frankfurter demanded to know if the defense contended that "the fact that a man has petitioned Congress immunizes him from questions."

Behind the court room colloquy was Black's ominious comment earlier which described Dr. Uphaus as "another of that ever-lengthening line of cases where people have been sent to prison and kept there for long periods of their lives because their beliefs were inconsistent with the prevailing views of the moment."

Backlogged in the courts are the cases of 40 other First Amendment defendants, who also face jail for challenging the authority of various inquisitorial committees. The court has agreed to review the case of Bernhard Deutsch, a physicist of Springfield, Pa., but has not yet acted on six other First Amendment cases.

ABOLITION CAMPAIGN: Even though Frankfurter, commenting on the campaign to abolish the House committee, had interjected "much as I might agree with that objective personally," he had the last word in Court. He told Watts, "The past is against you. Maybe the future is for you, but not the past."

The Court's busy and frustrating week gave new emphasis to the current campaign of the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee whose national field secretary is Frank Wilkinson.

THE NEW ORLEANS SCHOOL STORY

Four six-year-old Negro girls—and the mob

THE CITY of New Orleans, to tourists one of the most attractive in the South, seethed with hate last week in the worst demonstrations against public school desegregation since President Eisenhower sent Federal troops to Little Rock in 1957.

By the end of the first week of token integration Nov. 18, similarities between New Orleans' integration, the first in the Deep South, and Little Rock were sharper. In both cities there were three levels of governmental power attempting to settle the issue—and a mob. In both, the state apparatus upheld segregation, and was allied with, even encouraging, the mob, while city officials were desperately trying to administer the schools on a desegregated basis in compliance with a Federal court order.

President Eisenhower had sent a message to Arkansas Gov. Orval Faubus stating his intention of upholding the Constitution by every legal means. Attorney General William P. Rogers sent a similar message to Louisiana's Gov. Jimmie H. Davis. Federal judges and the School Boards, the Mayors, the Superintendents of Schools, in both cities, repeatedly stated that they intended to maintain peace and order while complying with the integration order.

THE TIME-TABLE: This is how it happened in New Orleans:

On Sept. 4, 1952, a suit was filed in behalf of Negro children against the segregated school system of Orleans parish. The suit was delayed pending a Supreme Court ruling in cases already before it. In 1955, a year after the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision, the New Orleans case came to trial. On Feb. 15, 1956, a Federal court ruled invalid all Louisiana laws requiring school segregation and Federal Judge J. Skelly Wright ordered the Orleans Parish School Board to make arrangements to desegregate its schools.

Three years later, when no action had been taken, Judge Wright ordered the board to present a desegregation plan by March 1, 1960. After extending the deadline to May 16, following more legal maneuvers, the judge presented his own desegregation plan to go into effect in September, 1960. The plan called for grade - by - grade integration beginning with the first grade. After more litigation Judge Wright extended the integration date to Nov. 14. On Oct. 13 the School Board announced that when the schools were desegregated, children would be separated by sex.

Meanwhile two groups were formed to fight for open schools, the Committee for Public Education and a group called Save Our Schools. On Nov. 4 the legislature, called into special session to enact bills to prevent integration, was picketed by hundreds of women carrying signs reading: Keep All State Supported Schools Open; Lay Off Our Orleans Parish School Board; Closed Schools Mean Disaster for Our Whole State.

BILLS PASSED: The legislature passed 29 pieces of segregation legislation. Among them were bills to set up an eight-man legislative committee to replace the Orleans Parish School Board, and to authorize the Governor to close schools to prevent riots and disorder and legalize "interposition"—the placing of state authority between the Federal government and the people.

The package legislation, according to the New Orleans **Times-Picayune**, Nov. 9, met surprisingly stiff opposition—out of 37 Senators there were nine and sometimes more who strongly opposed 14 of the bills passed. The core of the opposition came from the New Orleans delegation which heatedly argued in favor of home rule for the city. Major objections concerned the lack of a provision for coping with the consequences of closed schools.

One legislator said: "What a hollow victory we would have with a bunch of segregated idiots in Louisiana!" Sen. Robert A. Ainsworth Jr., president pro tem of the Senate, said: "I do not want to see the time when the physical forces of the state of Louisiana would have to meet the physical forces of the Federal government . . . I do not want another Little Rock."

INCONSISTENCIES: A bill giving state police equal authority with local law enforcement agencies caused heated debate. One senator called it "a direct violation of all the principles of home rule" and warned it "may cause bloodshed in my city." He said: "We fought the civil war, and I don't want to fight another one. Don't be fools."

Acting with frantic haste the legislature incorporated many inconsistencies in its legislation. One senator asked if a bill on school accreditation would mean that a graduate of a Negro school could attend Louisiana State University while a graduate of an integrated school could not. The answer was: "That is correct." (Professional schools of the University have been desegregated.)

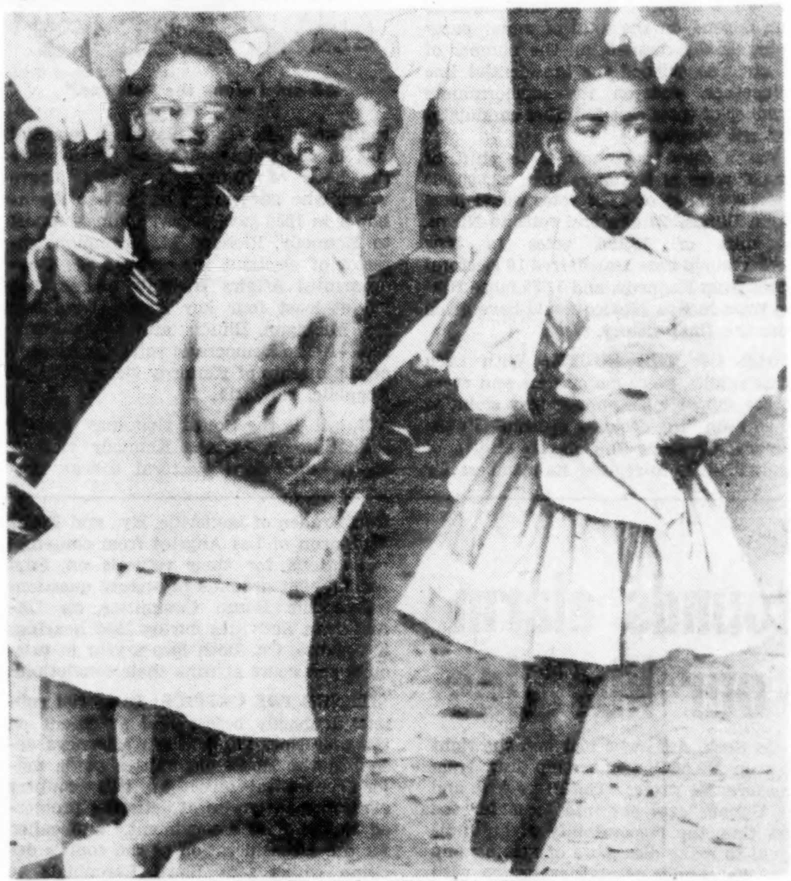
To prevent any use of legislative power to stop integration, Judge Wright issued restraining orders against the State's Controller, Director of Public Safety, Adjutant General and Superintendent of Public Education, the New Orleans Parish School Superintendent and the eight members of the legislative committee set up to administer the schools. The legislature was picketed a second time by both pro- and anti-integrationists, and New Orleans' Mayor deLesseps S. Morrison wrote legislators asking them not to violate home rule and not to take action "that may have the effect of disturbing the peace and order of this community."

THE INTEGRATORS: On Monday, Nov. 14, New Orleans schools were integrated by four little six-year-old Negro girls who wore sparkling clean dresses, new shoes and bows in their hair and were escorted by U.S. deputy marshals as they walked, wide-eyed, up the school steps.

Robert S. Bird in the **New York Herald Tribune** Nov. 15 wrote of the integrating of William Frantz school: "The tableau this lone little colored girl presented, as she stepped from the Federal marshal's closed sedan with her mother, was eloquent to behold . . . As the tot stepped out of the car and started up the school steps the rabble roared insults and boos . . . The roar startled the little girl, and she stopped in her tracks and slowly turned around to gaze at the source of all this noise."

The source of the noise was a crowd of about 150 white housewives and teenagers chanting and hurling epithets. At McDonogh school, when the three six-year-olds entered, a man in the crowd shouted: "Kill them niggers!" A small group of Negroes applauded the children. School attendance by whites was down at McDonogh from 460 to 94 and at Frantz from 575 to 125, but there was no serious threat of violence that day.

The names of the parents of the four children were kept secret by authorities, but segregationists learned the identity of at least two. The father of one child was fired from his job as a service station helper when he refused his employer's demand to take his child out of school.



THE BURDEN OF INTEGRATION FELL ON THESE TOTS' SHOULDERS

A white rioter yelled "Kill them niggers" as the girls entered school.

FIRE YOUR MAID: Meanwhile at the state capital in Baton Rouge the legislature was listening to Sen. Speedy Long, a distant cousin of the late Huey and Earl Long, call for an economic boycott of Negroes. "Fire your colored maid," he urged. During the session legislators, listening to radio announcements of the entry of the Negro girls into schools, failed to notice a group of 25 or more Negroes who had entered the House to pray and sing hymns.

On New Orleans' second day of integration attendance was low at the two integrated schools, but near normal in all other schools. Mounted and foot police armed with night sticks held back jeering demonstrators. Eleven whites were arrested, one a blonde woman who had pushed her way to the edge of the crowd and held up a sign reading: "Nigger lover cops." Twelve carloads of teen-agers sped through red lights in the heart of the business district shouting and waving Confederate flags. But the hecklers were fewer and the city seemed to be getting back to normal.

That night rabid segregationists staged a rally at Municipal auditorium and exhorted 6,000 people to resist the Federal order. The lone segregationist member of the School Board told the crowd that parochial schools would be integrated Nov. 21, and former State Senator William M. Rainach, arch-segregationist, steamed up the roaring crowd.

THE RESULT: The meeting was successful. On the third day of integration a mob estimated at between 1,000 and 3,000 rampaging teen-agers, adult hoodlums and young mothers marched through downtown New Orleans for three hours. They stormed City Hall chanting: "We want Morrison" and smashed windows of buses and cars carrying Negroes.

The disorders continued late into the night and put more than a dozen Negroes into the hospital and 200 persons in jail. One of those arrested was a deputy sheriff who, police said, joined in harassing and heckling at the schools.

That night Mayor Morrison in a television speech said: "I should like to point out that the eyes of the world are focused on New Orleans tonight. I appeal to all the people of this community to continue to use the good judgment and sane and calm attitude which practically all of them have displayed in this school crisis."

BAD FOR BUSINESS: On Nov. 17 the city was quieter again, but merchants were worried about financial conditions and 100 businessmen met with the Mayor to discuss the situation. The merchandise manager of Maison Blanche, New Orleans' largest department store, said that business was off 20% to 30%.

The week saw a steep decline in advertising spending, a threatened Negro boycott of white merchants and a dive in retail sales. The **Wall Street Journal** said Nov. 18: "This economic impact, largely obscured by the emotional outbursts . . . promises nonetheless to have a strong influence on the eventual outcome of the school controversy."

Besides the Negro boycott and the fear which kept white shoppers out of downtown stores, the legislature made its contribution to the bleak financial outlook. The lawmakers passed a bill warning banks that the desegregation order was illegal. Subsequently banks have refused to lend the School Board funds to meet salaries. In ordinary times the School Board makes a short-term loan against revenues ear-marked for education.

PLEAD FOR CALM: Appeals to end violence have been made by Gov. Davis, Mayor Morrison, the Young Men's Business Club, the Federation of Churches, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, and police and school authorities. School Superintendent Dr. James F. Redmond announced that students who stay out of school to join demonstrations will be considered truant and reported to juvenile court, and urged parents to restrain their children from disorderly demonstrations. "Children need to be goaded into disorderly conduct," he said.

Lloyd J. Rittiner, president of the School Board, said: "If they would let this thing alone, the people would go about their business just like they did in Houston." (Houston schools were integrated with notable calm in September.) Rittiner said the people of New Orleans want to keep schools open even at the price of token integration, and cited the election Nov. 8 of a new School Board member favoring open schools; he defeated three segregationists.

COOL-OFF WEEK: There was no doubt that the people of New Orleans would eventually win, but on the fifth day of integration, Nov. 18, the School Board announced that all New Orleans schools would close for a week's cooling-off period during the Thanksgiving holiday. A three-judge Federal panel was set up to determine whether the four children will return to the white schools at the end of that period. The judges are also studying a School Board request for a temporary suspension of desegregation.

Looking to the future there was a cheerful note from another deep South state—Georgia. Facing integration of Atlanta schools next September, the Georgia Baptist Convention, spokesman for nearly one million Georgia Baptists, issued a statement during the week urging officials to keep the public schools open.

BRITISH GUIANA'S CHEDDI JAGAN APPEALS TO U.S.

'Extend a hand to your starving brothers'

The dispatch of U.S. naval units to protect Caribbean nations from mythical communist threats puts the spotlight on an area about which little is known or reported in the U.S. press. On Nov. 11, at the GUARDIAN's 12th anniversary dinner in New York, the guest of honor was Dr. Cheddi Jagan, Chief Minister of British Guiana, a Caribbean nation. The same day Dr. Jagan sent to all UN delegations a "Petition to the General Assembly" asking their help in obtaining immediate independence from the British Crown. Below is the text of Dr. Jagan's address at the GUARDIAN anniversary, an address which will help Americans understand the aspirations of the Caribbean people—and all Latin Americans—and the determination of the North American exploiters to keep them—by force if necessary—from achieving these aspirations.

DURING THESE PAST 12 years a great deal of water has flowed under the bridge. The last war we were told was fought to end all wars; the Atlantic Charter proclaimed the right of all peoples and nations to self-determination; in addition to the conventional four freedoms, we were to have freedom from want. What have we achieved? Jets, rockets and intercontinental missiles have brought us physically into one world, but poverty has increasingly separated us into two distinct worlds.

In 1949, UN experts told us that two-thirds of the world income was earned by less than one-fifth of the world's population living in the rich industrialized countries of the West. Compare this with less than one-sixth of the world's income being earned by those living in the poor, underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa, Middle East and Latin America.

The rich countries have a per capita income of more than $900 per year. For the poor countries it was a little over $54. Today the position is growing worse. The gap in living standards between the rich and poor countries is growing wider. Verily it is said: "Unto everyone who hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance: but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath."

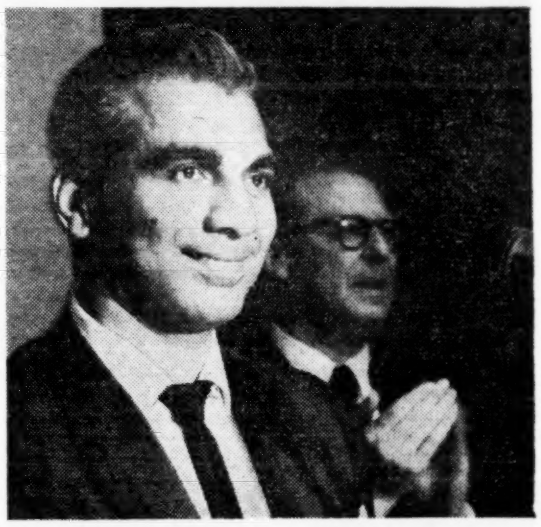
THE UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES are caught up in a vicious circle of poverty. Consequently those of us living in colonies have written on our masthead the word Independence. But increasingly it is dawning on colonial and ex-colonial leaders that political independence is not enough—this is particularly true of Africa—that if there is to be social justice there must also be economic emancipation. There is now greater awareness that it is possible to carry on the imperialist control and exploitation in an underdeveloped country without retaining it as or making it into a direct and formal colony.

Latin America is a classic example of a region dominated by imperialism. Here a circular constellation of forces tend to act and react on one another in such a way as to keep it in a perpetual state of poverty.

The economy of practically every Latin American state is distorted and in imbalance, depending on one crop or one mineral. Tin accounts for 60% of Bolivia's exports; coffee for 84% of Colombia's, 59% of Brazil's and 86% of El Salvador's. Sugar makes up 80% of Cuba's exports; bananas 56% of Equador's and 52% of Uruguay's exports. Copper amounts to 58% of Chile's exports. Oil, 92% of Venezuela's. In British Guiana more than 80% of our exports come from bauxite and its by-products.

Although in the Caribbean and in Latin America we are predominantly agricultural, yet even foods have to be imported in large quantities. Latifundia—large foreign land-holding—and land idleness result in terrific land hunger and poverty on a wide scale. Professor Josue De Castro, former head of the UN's Food and Agricultural Organization, put it this way: "There is not a single country in Latin America in which the population is free from hunger."

IMPERIALISM HAS FASHIONED our economy in its own image as a raw material base, as a market for industrialized goods, as an area for the extraction of super profits. Unlike the developed countries of the West where the bulk of American private investments went into manufacturing industries for the home market, the bulk in the underdeveloped countries went into extractive industries for export. Latin America takes one-quarter of your exports and provides about one-third of your imports, without which, according to Herbert L. Matthews of the New York **Times**, U.S.A. would be reduced to a second-rate nation. Foreign investments took out a net drain of three and a half billion dollars in the decade 1946-1955. In 1951, return on investment was 18% in Latin America as against 11% in the U.S.A. Loans were forthcoming to this region for roads, railways, harbors, but not to develop the commanding heights in the public sector. The result is that Latin America is today in the classic predicament of a debtor having to borrow to meet loan payments; in 1956, Latin America received $450,000,000 in loans. However, in that same year, they paid out exactly $450,000,000 in principal and interest on previous loans.



CHEDDI JAGAN AT GUARDIAN DINNER
In the background editor James Aronson

In addition, we in the underdeveloped areas of the world are subject to the inequalities of international trade. We are forced to sell cheap and buy dear. Africans and Asians still work for two and three shillings a day. In our area, wages are higher but by no means comparable with those in the metropolitan countries.

BY INCREASED military expenditure, by pump priming, the U.S.A. is temporarily able to allay the deleterious effects of recession or any downturn in the economy. But what about Latin America whose economy is so closely tied? Mr. Raul Prebitch, executive head of the UN's Economic Commission for Latin America, in his last annual report, pointed out that in 1958 as compared with 1957, there was not only decline in volume but also a fall in prices as well. This amounted to about $700 million. In the same year, in the United Kingdom, export prices rose by seven percent, as against imports from colonial and underdeveloped territories, which dropped by three percent.

I have dealt fully with the area nearest to me. But the same arguments apply equally to other underdeveloped regions of the world—Africa, Asia, Middle East, the Caribbean.

Over the past 12 years, there have been stirrings of the oppressed people, of the underprivileged, everywhere. The worldwide national liberation movements have suffered setbacks here and there—in Venezuela in 1948, in Iran in 1951, in British Guiana in 1952, in Guatemala in 1954. Reaction has put power and authority in the hands of completely acquisitive individuals who have ceased to feel a sense of public responsibility. In the metropolitan countries reaction has maintained itself in power by witchhunts, by conformism, by bribery of sections of the working class, by creating prosperity-corrupted electors and status seekers, by developing an attitude towards the rich which combines envy with admiration. Abroad, particularly in colonial, dependent territories, everything in the imperialist armory has been used—open brutal force, constitution-mongering and gerrymandering, conferring of knighthoods, other titles and decorations, scholarships for the colonial elite, experts and advisers—firstly to delay political independence and secondly to insure continuity from colonial to post-colonial rule.

BUT DO NOT GET THE IDEA from what I have said that all was black in this period. Far from it. There was the breakthrough against French imperialism in Dien-Bien-Phu. The debacle at Suez saw Anglo-French imperialism on its knees. There is the force of socialist successes based on a planned economy whose aim is not private profit but the redistribution of both income and leisure in favor of the underprivileged and the raising of the general level of cultural and material well-being.

Today we see a new awakening all over the world, particularly among the youthful intelligentsia. The age of complacency and apathy is passing. In place of fear we see attempts at choosing rationally between the alternatives facing us—the continued plunder and exploitation based on private greed and profit or the vision of socialism, of measuring the actual against the potential, the immediate with the possible condition of man.

I feel proud to be associated with this 12th anniversary function. The National Guardian by its valuable criticism and reportage has helped to give us an analysis of the theories of society, the structure of institutions and the foundations of policies. You Americans have voted for a change; you, who have a revolutionary past, you who love liberty and, by tradition, are anti-colonial. Enthrone reason and boldness in the place of fear. You who are so famously generous and warm-hearted must give up reactionary ideas of domination and extend a helping hand to your starving brothers in Asia, Africa, Latin America. You have a glorious destiny. Let not history say you have failed.

A LEADER GOES BACK TO A LAND OF TURMOIL

Joshua Nkomo returns to Rhodesia

Special to the Guardian
LONDON

JOSHUA NKOMO, the Southern Rhodesian leader who has been living in exile for two years, calmly told the press here that he was returning to confer with African colleagues on steps to end the white-supremacy rule in his country. The decision followed his election as party president by 200 delegates of the Africans' National Democratic Party who managed to convene in the "Indian section" of Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia's capital. In the country's "African sections" it is a crime for more than three people to meet together.

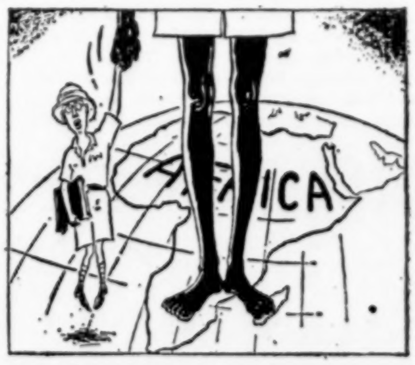
Nkomo was in Cairo when Premier Sir Edgar Whitehead herded Southern Rhodesia's African leaders into jail in the "state of emergency" round-up in 1958. Since then Nkomo has spoken for his bitterly oppressed people at scores of British and U.S. meetings, at numerous conferences all over free Africa, and at the UN from which he returned last month. En route home he was the Nigerian government's guest at the installation of Dr. Azikiwe as governor-general, and was to stop off in Ghana and Kenya.

SPECIAL CARDS: Although under the "state of emergency" he was subject to a long jail term, Nkomo, according to Whitehead, would not be arrested on his scheduled arrival Nov. 25 although "what happens if he misbehaves later cannot be guaranteed." Africans in Southern Rhodesia must have a pass to sleep in an urban area and another to seek employment.

Nkomo told the GUARDIAN he was "not interested in qualifying" for the special card issued to a few Africans exempting them from these passes. (There is also a special card entitling Africans with university degrees to buy liquor: "I had one but I've lost it," Nkomo said.) For an employment-seeking pass Africans must line up naked for medical inspection since "they will be coming in contact with whites." Nkomo expects to follow his party's rule under which leaders reject exemption cards and line up with the others. Possible "misbehavior" for which he could be arrested after arrival includes being caught with three other people, being a "vagrant," a "dangerous person," a "hoodlum" or an "unemployed native. "Dangerous persons" can be detained indefinitely without trial.

ANOTHER 20 YEARS: Nkomo planned only a short stay and expected to be back in London for the December conference on the Central African Federation constitution, to which he has not yet been invited by the British government. Later in December there will be a conference on the constitution of Southern Rhodesia (one of the three parts of the Federation), to which Whitehead has said he would invite National Democratic Party representatives.

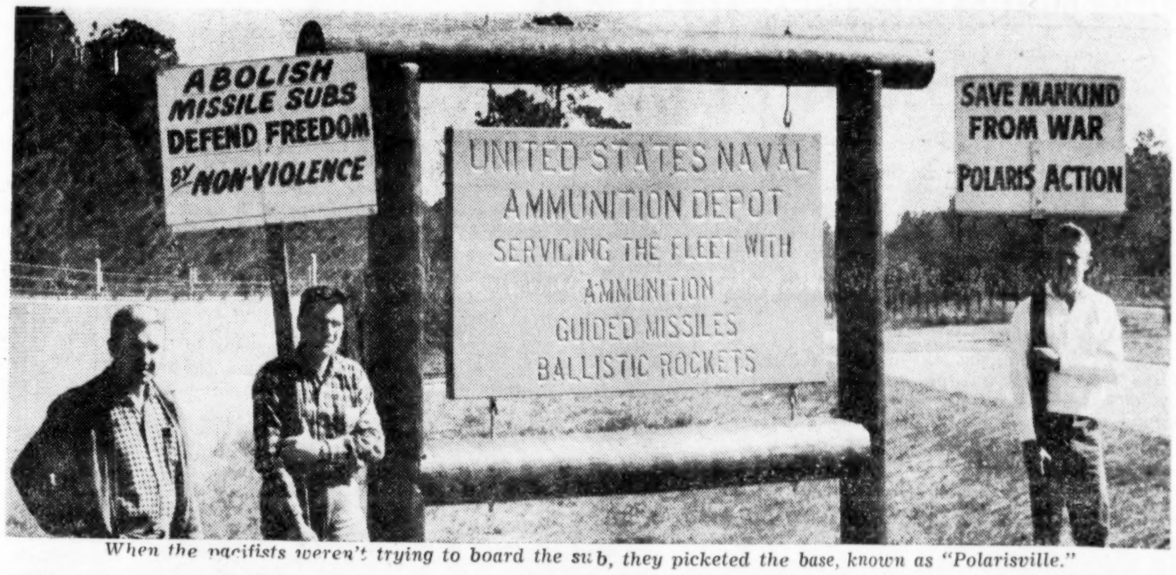
Whitehead has just launched another attack on British colonial policy, declaring that Africans will not be "fit to take a major part in the running of Rhodesia" for another 20-25 years. Prime Minister Macmillan, in Whitehead's view, is "encouraging the African in the idea that he is going to have independence much more quickly." If the Africans' pressing demands were yielded to, "every European would pack his bags and get out" and "the world would have another Congo on its hands."



Whitehead added: "I want the African to advance as much as anyone."

PACIFISTS VS. ATOMIC SUB

The Battle of Charleston: Uncivil war


ABOLISH MISSILE SUBS DEFEND FREEDOM BY NON-VIOLENCE
UNITED STATES NAVAL AMMUNITION DEPOT SERVICING THE FLEET WITH AMMUNITION GUIDED MISSILES BALLISTIC ROCKETS
SAVE MANKIND FROM WAR POLARIS ACTION

When the pacifists weren't trying to board the sub, they picketed the base, known as "Polarisville."

UNITS OF THE U.S. Navy, Marine Corps and Coast Guard repulsed repeated "enemy" attacks on the nuclear submarine **George Washington** from Nov. 8 to 15 in Charleston, S.C., where it prepared for its maiden mission. Four boarding attempts were beaten back and a flanking maneuver was defeated. There were no casualties but as the submarine sailed with its 16 Polaris missiles with hydrogen warheads a faint horselaugh was heard in the distance.

Enemy forces numbered four young men, members of the pacifist Committee for Nonviolent Action, armed with picket signs, a 12-foot dory, two oars and a passion for peace. They arrived at Charleston Navy Base Nov. 8 to board the submarine in an act of nonviolent civil disobedience to protest the arms race.

Three times the pacifists rowed their dory toward the submarine, but each time they were intercepted by a Marine patrol boat. Navy Commander Gay and a Marine major twice warned them that "you are endangering your lives," but they would not be dissuaded. Between boarding attempts, the pacifists picketed the base and distributed leaflets to sailors and shipyard workers.

LAST ATTEMPT: In one of their aborted attempts, the pacifists were towed to midstream and set adrift. They did not get back to shore until nightfall and twice ran aground in the dark. Their dory was seized after the third attempt but the Marines returned it later.

The **George Washington** was set to sail at noon on Nov. 15 and the pacifists knew it was their last chance. They rowed their dory, **World Citizen,** to an island downstream in the Cooper River. Three stayed with the dory, hidden in the weeds. The fourth, Bill Henry, stripped to the waist and waited in the shrubs. Two Coast Guard cutters appeared as advance scouts. Behind them, the pacifists could see the **George Washington,** escorted by a cutter and a Marine patrol boat. A launch filled with reporters followed.

With picket-signs aloft, the three pacifists rowed toward the sub with all their might. They had tried unsuccessfully to rent an outboard motor. The cutter escort spotted the dory and sped to cut it off. Commander Gay in the patrol boat joined the attack. A sailor reached for the dory with a grappling hook, but another noticed Henry swimming toward the sub. "A swimmer. A swimmer," he shouted.

ACTION TO CONTINUE: Commander Gay directed the attack to the new enemy. Henry was too slow to catch the sub, but as the launch with the newsmen passed, he pulled an oilcloth from his trunks, reading "End Arms Race."

The **George Washington** sailed to the open seas safe and sound as the first nuclear submarine protecting the "free world." The pacifists went to Groton, Conn., where a demonstration against the nuclear submarine **Ethan Allan** was set for Nov. 22 at the General Dynamics shipyards.

The pacifists in the demonstration were Robert Swann, Joseph Glynn, Bill Henry and Richard Zink. They took the photographs on this page. They are part of Polaris Action, a committee for nonviolent protest against Polaris submarines, which has been demonstrating since last June. Contributions may be sent to Polaris Action, 13 N. Bank St., New London, Conn.

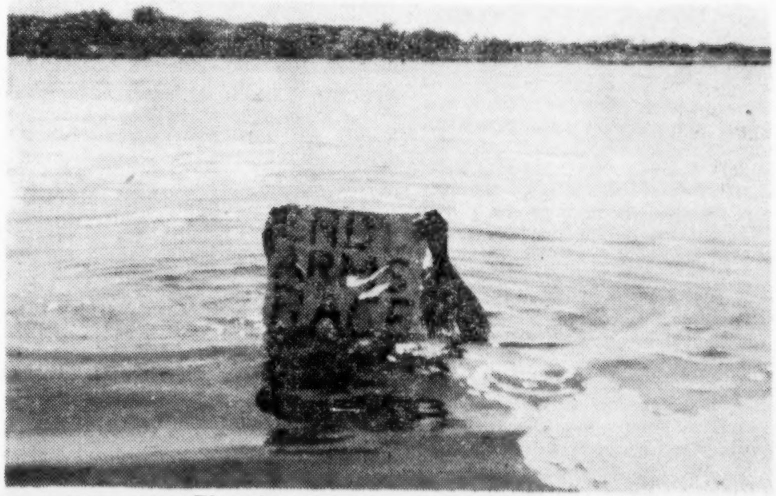
WORLD CITIZEN

Marines return the World Citizen after its "capture."

The "invasion fleet"

Richard Zink sighted sub, rowed toward same.

Bill Henry tried a flanking attack on the sub (background) . . .



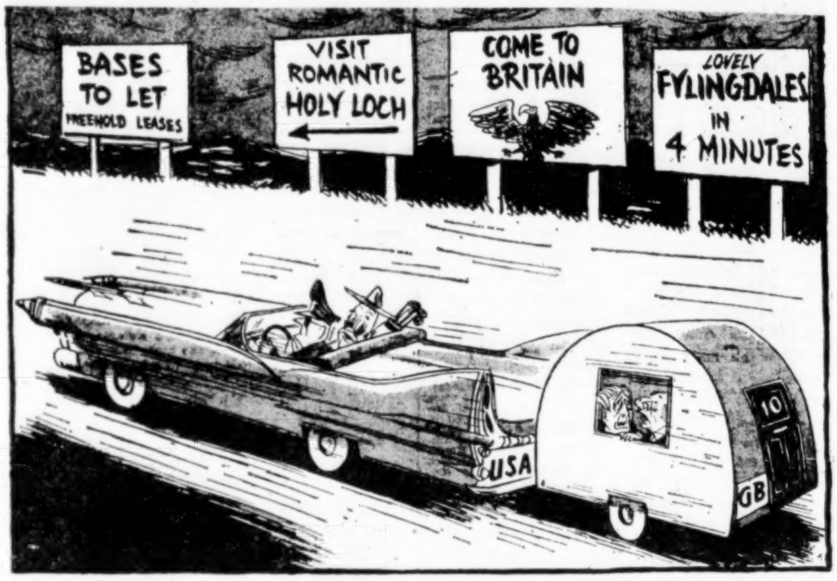
. . . The sub got away, but the message got across

ALL OF SCOTLAND AROUSED

Britain hit by storm of protest over Polaris base

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON



Vicky, London Evening Standard

"Just think, Selwyn, the Socialists might have taken over the country and NATIONALIZED everything."

WITH THE LABOR Party torn by dissension and its leader heading a campaign against its own conference decisions, the most serious issue of Britain's period of U.S. satellite-dom blew up in Parliament. The House became almost a shambles after Prime Minister Macmillan tried to reassure it about the base for U.S. Polaris (nuclear rocket-firing) submarines, which is already under construction at Holy Loch, 30 miles from Glasgow. A series of obviously absurd government statements were made about Britain's right to "consultation" on use of the subs, drawing quick denials from Washington that it had any consultation in mind. Actually such subs may often lose all contact with shore command, leaving it to the captain's discretion whether and when to fire rockets.

While at Charleston, S.C., the sub **George Washington** sailed for Holy Loch with 16 nuclear missiles—equal in fire power to all the explosive dropped by both sides in World War II—Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition outdid Macmillan himself in praise of the new genocide weapon.

LAUGHTER IN HOUSE: The **Times**, which had assessed the rocket-firing consultation issue as "academic . . . there would be no time for consultation," noted with a tinge of concern that "British people do not want the subs to be going from Holy Loch to Holy Cape" (off which the Russians shot down the RB 47). With something about "co-ordinating routine measures" Macmillan mumbled off queries on whether Britain would see the subs' sailing orders. A **Times** reader "with experience of both explosives and Americans in the last war" proposed that two British officers should sail on each sub from the base. According to reports, the U.S. does not intend to let Britons even come aboard.

Labor defense "spokesman" Denis Healey, going out of his way to assure the Tories that "I and my right honorable friends" were "opposed to any act of unilateral disarmament" (ministerial laughter), extolled H-subs as "preferable to all the existing systems." The Tory mirth was natural, since anti-Bomb Laborite Sydney Silverman had pointed out the previous day that Gaitskell & Co. did not "speak for this party on defense matters." The party line made official at the recent Scarborough conference is for unilateral nuclear disarmament and closing of all U.S. bases. Pro-Bomb Gaitskell, however—as expected in view of the majority complexion of Labor MP's—later defeated the anti-Bomb forces' candidate Harold Wilson for the party leadership by 166 votes to 81.

"FOLLY BEYOND WORDS": The opportunity for a brief discussion of Holy Loch came after the "Queen's speech" opening the session, to which the Opposition traditionally offers "amendments." The Queen's speech had dealt with such matters as the closing hours of pubs. Of five hours spent on discussing defense, 4½ were taken up by Tories and Gaitskellites; none of the 47 Laborites (including former Defense Minister Shinwell) who had put down an amendment opposing the Polaris base was called to speak. Jennie Lee, MP-widow of Aneurin Bevan, did manage to describe as "folly beyond words to imagine" the Labor hierarchs' notion that "15 or 16 nations would be consulted" before a Polaris was fired. She described Macmillan as "a kind of lapdog" to the Americans.

Gaitskell continued to bask in the praise of the press, most of which took a benign view of the Holy Loch monster. Beaverbrook's **Evening Standard**, gagging on Britain's total surrender of sovereignty in the new base agreement with Washington, called for its "utter rejection." In Beaverbrook's **Express**, scientific correspondent Chapman Pincher twisted the dagger in Labor's heart by recalling that "the British right to a veto on the use of U.S. atomic weapons was traded for Marshall Aid by the Socialists [Labor Party] 12 years ago." Said Pincher: "The British government dare not admit that the U.S. has the independent capacity to loose off an H-bomb war which would destroy Britain."

SCOTLAND AROUSED: On the popular level the Polaris base was causing more heat than any issue in a long while. Scottish nationalist sentiment was inflamed at Scotland not even being consulted. Angry protests were passed unanimously by the Trades Councils of Edinburgh, Greenock and Glasgow, the latter admitting the press to its session for the first time in 34 years. Trade unionists demonstrated outside the Navy building at Greenock with banners: "Greenock wants work, not gravedigging," "No to Polaris bases." At a specially-called meeting of Clydebank Town Council, Labor group leader Richard Park said: "It's a complete surrender to a foreign nation of the rights of the people of Scotland." The Council's resolution opposed the Holy Loch base "vehemently and bitterly."

On Nov. 9 the General Council of the Scottish Trades Union Congress, spokesman for 800,000 Scots trade unionists, approved unanimously a powerful pledge of continued opposition to Gaitskellite defense policy. The statement called on the Scottish people to reject the Holy Loch base on four grounds: (1) Polaris is not a defensive weapon but can only be used for indiscriminate destruction of populations; (2) The subs will not come under NATO and there will be "no proper consultation" on their use; (3) The base is an open invitation to retaliation in the event of hostilities; (4) The argument that the base will "bring business" to local people "belongs to the discredited slogan that 'war brings work'."

"HIGH TREASON": Lord Boyd-Orr, chancellor of Glasgow university, said Britain should stop being an American satellite, withdraw from the arms race and "take a lead in the growing movement for disarmament in nearly all countries—including the U.S." Another titled Nobel prize-winner, Bertrand Russell, calling the Polaris agreement "high treason," wrote to the daily **Scotsman**: "The British government has handed over to the U.S. authorities the lives of all the inhabitants of Clydeside and the rest of Great Britain to be expendable whenever U.S. militarists think it in the interests of the U.S. that they should die."

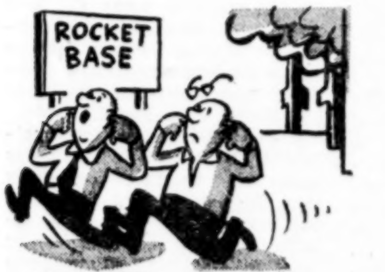
With the Labor Party reins still in their hands, the Gaitskellites planned a series of regional delegate conferences at which the leader would conduct his fight against the Scarborough defense resolution. At the first of these, in Manchester and Liverpool, an uproar developed on the floor when it became clear that supporters of the resolution would be denied equal facilities to state their case.

OUT, OUT, OUT: At Manchester, anti-Bomb MP Will Griffiths set off a 20-minute pandemonium by protesting and refusing to sit down. When the Gaitskellite chairman threatened to have him thrown out, he shouted: "This is my home and my constituency. The last time I was thrown out of this hall it was by the fascists. We shall have our say!" Much of Gaitskell's speech was drowned out by yells of "You belong to the Tories!!", "Why not join the Liberals?"

In Liverpool the storm of catcalls and "Resign" shouts held him in his chair for ten minutes, and when he finally tried to speak the packed audience chanted: "Out, out, out!!" For half an hour he was hardly heard, and finally stewards were called into action against the demonstrators. Little came through of his "defense" views, such was the delegates' fury at the suppression of the official line. Afterwards he told the press: "They were Trotskyites."

DANGER EMPHASIZED: The anti-Bomb forces are determined, against all Gaitskellite sabotage, to defend the Scarborough decision by publicizing Britain's heightened danger from the Holy Loch base. In an editorial reminiscent of its old fighting days the **New Statesman** pointed out: "The [Polaris'] margin of error is so great that it is pointless to zero it on Soviet nuclear bases—it can only be used for indiscriminate destruction of Soviet population centers . . . Britain as part of the Polaris system must expect retaliation on a comparable scale."

The Speaker of the House declined to give time for a full-dress debate on Holy Loch. The time allotted for Opposition amendments to the Queen's speech would be spent on education and housing, the only points raised by the Labor front bench.



Eccles, London Daily Worker

"There's no need to phone Washington—they'll hear about it soon enough!"

Landslide for Foot

THERE WERE seven by-elections in the United Kingdom in the last week. In six, all Tory strongholds, the pro-Gaitskell Labor candidates were swamped, their vote cut by half from the previous election.

However, in the constituency of the late Aneurin Bevan, Michael Foot, anti-Gaitskell Laborite, campaigning for all-out nuclear disarmament, won a 16,729 majority against the Conservative candidate. This was only 4,000 less than Bevan got in the last general election, when 10 per cent more voted. Konni Zilliacus, Sydney Silverman and other anti-bomb M.P.'s spoke for Foot in his constituency.

The **Times** of London saw the Labor Left as at last having in Parliament a "leader capable of striking terror in the Labor front benches."

Conference on cold war in Cambridge Dec. 2 and 3

A PUBLIC CONFERENCE on "Understanding the Cold War—Its Illusions and Realities" will be held at Stebbins Auditorium, Unitarian Church, Harvard Square, Cambridge, on Friday evening, Dec. 2, and all day Saturday, Dec. 3. The conference is sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee, the Greater Boston Committee of Correspondence, and TOCSIN, a Harvard-Radcliffe student group.

Speakers include Dr. David Reisman, Harvard University sociologist and author of **The Lonely Crowd**; Dr. H. Stuart Hughes, Harvard historian; J. David Singer, University of Michigan political scientist, currently Consultant in International Relations at the Naval War College, Newport, R.I.; J. B. Priestley, well-known British author and leader of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament; and I. F. Stone, Washington journalist and editor.

For conference information and registration, write American Friends Service Committee, 130 Brattle St., Cambridge 38, Mass. The conference fee is $3. There is a 50% discount for students.

An eye-witness report from Saigon

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HOLY LOCH AND UNHOLY WORDS

Lady C & Anglo-Saxon Man

LONDON

THE BRITISH PEOPLE, who have let their government cede to a foreign power the right to decide whether and when they shall be push-buttoned out of existence, have won this month a famous victory for freedom.

Twelve good men and true have ruled that Britons may describe in print the sexual act—an act which, from all the evidence, must have been going on here for some time in a quiet way. Furthermore, the verdict in the case of Regina v. Penguin Books Ltd. (in re **Lady Chatterley's Lover**) shivers the chains attached to a monosyllable beginning with F, which plain folk have used for centuries to describe the said act but which prior to November, 1960, none might print without a visit from the police.

This familiar arrangement of four letters has already appeared (in quotes from the court record) in two newspapers, the Manchester **Guardian** and Sunday **Observer**, and as of this writing London Bridge stands. (The man who quoted it in the **Observer** was that dreadful fellow Kenneth Tynan, who awhile back was caught flagrantly disagreeing with President Eisenhower in the U.S. and most properly hauled before the inquisition.) Now let anyone say that the U.S., whose vaunted press freedom stops short at a few hundred pornographic picture magazines, is ahead of good old Albion.

COMING BEFORE His Bewigged Lordship while the U.S. Presidential contenders raced down the home stretch, Lady Chatterley with her near-monopolization of front pages reduced still lower the interest in Kennedy-or-Nixon which was already practically zero. At a time when Communists (immoral by definition) point to a West-wide moral breakdown with regard to sex, sadism and mass-killing, the performance is worth brief attention in foreign parts for its commentary on that remarkable species, Anglo-Saxon Man.

A few days after the sensational verdict, a teen-ager and a slightly older companion were hanged here in London for killing a man. Liberal intellectuals had pleaded with the authorities to consider the futility and savagery of continuing to top criminal murder with legal murder. Fellow-prisoners in Wandsworth Jail spent the previous night banging eating utensils against cell doors.

Outside in the rain, one little old man carried a chalked sign: "According to the law of God hanging is wrong." A huge, drab woman lingering under the wreckage of an umbrella said: "I always come and say just a few prayers—that's all we can do for them." Such was the popular concern about the two youths' lives, though it had taken less time to declare them forfeit to "society" in a neighboring court than to acquit a publisher of arranging four letters in a particular order.

BETWEEN political gatherings to whoop it up for nuclear deterrents, Tory ladies shrilled that only yet more hangings—plus a return to the cat-o'-nine tails—could save us all from gory death and/or rape at the hands of low-class amok-runners of our community. But just an hour after the two "deterrent" corpses were taken down from Wandsworth gallows, a guard was shot dead by hold-up men in a bank south of London.

And the Tory ladies? Some, no doubt, were by this time deep in **Lady C**—if they were lucky enough to get a copy in the siege of booksellers which everywhere followed the verdict. Although freely available for many years without the naughty words, the "unexpurgated" version immediately formed queues outside bookstores such as are seen for a new edition of Pushkin or Mark Twain in Moscow.

One West End store sold 2,500 copies in 3½ hours, another sold out in 40 minutes, another in 15 with "about 3,000 orders during the day." Selfridges department store, opening at 9 a.m. and selling its last copy at 9:05, reported: "It's absolute bedlam here—we could have sold 10,000 if we had them." Food stores started selling **Lady C** as a come-on for their soups and custard powders.

And everyone saw **THOSE WORDS** in print, and the evening and the morning were the first day; and the great debate raged across the land as to whether God, our help in ages past, could be expected to preside in years to come over a Britain that printed a C, a U, a K and an F in another order.

Bishop Robinson of Woolwich had bravely testified at the trial that D. H. Lawrence tried to portray sex as "something sacred." In a "stern rebuke" the Archbishop of Canterbury boomed back: "The good pastor will teach his people to avoid both the fact of, and the desire for, sex experience of an adulterous kind and fornication also." Letters to the **Times** from "top people" (as that paper calls its readers) began: "Graphic descriptions of love-making may be artistic, but . . . ," "As one of the usually silent but, I believe, not unthinking myriads of my countrymen . . ." etc.

AND LONDON BRIDGE DIDN'T FALL DOWN

Not only did THAT WORD appear in print, but Lady Chatterley and her lover, as depicted by artist Sydney Campion, were put on display at the Post Office Art Exhibit in London. Postman John Farmer peers over his eyeglasses for a better look.

THE **Times** leader-writer sniffed at the verdict under the heading "A Decent Reticence," and Tory MP Dudley Smith took the cue by asking in Commons whether "the obscene libel published in the Manchester **Guardian**" (he meant THAT WORD) would be "brought to the attention of the Director of Public Prosecutions." (He got a two-letter-word answer: "No.") The Tory **Daily Mail** rashly asked playwright Arnold Wesker to comment, and found itself printing something hardly more printable (politically) than THAT WORD: "We live in an inherently corrupt society . . . the principle of private enterprise . . . I cannot see how our morality can be anything but corrupt . . . This is the society Lawrence was writing against, and it follows it was this society that condemned him." Wesker saw in the verdict no "shift in morality" since our same society makes no effective move against professional pornographers; ". . . Lawrence's book did not need defending, but the society which condemned it needed attacking."

On the church front, the latest developments are Bishop Robinson's withdrawal from the **Church of England Newspaper** of an article written in defense of his trial testimony, and a pro-Robinson sermon by Manchester Cathedral's Canon Preston who suggested that "shocked Christians" should ask themselves "what it is that shocks them." In Scotland, despite a "heavy demand" for **Lady C**, stores are not stocking it "in view of the difficult and uncertain legal position" north of the border. Columnist-MP Tom Driberg foresaw a **Lady C** black market in Scotland and wondered whether "when we go north our luggage will be searched by dour Calvinistic agents of the Procurators Fiscal."

Anyhow I hope everyone realizes that Britons never never never shall be slaves—or hardly ever. Let's be decent fellows in this morality debate and not embarrass our glorious allies by mentioning Holy Loch, germ population-killers, Algeria and stuff like that. Irrelevant, my dear Watson: the point is that we've printed those four letters in THAT order and gotten away with it. If this doesn't prove that the Free World is keeping its morality up to date, just tell me what will. Praise the Lord and pass the deterrents!

—Cedric Belfrage

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MYSTERIOUS RIVAL 'UNION' FORMED

Coeur d'Alene strikers face new back-to-work movement

By Robert E. Light

AS A STRIKE of 2,200 hardrock miners in the Coeur d'Alene Mountains in Idaho neared its seventh month, the strikers were set to fight off a challenge by a mysteriously organized union urging a back-to-work movement. The Natl. Labor Relations Board was to open hearings Nov. 22 on a petition by the Northwest Metal Workers to decertify the independent Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers as the strikers' bargaining agent.

Mine-Mill felt certain it could withstand the challenge. It pointed out that the rival union came into existence after the strike, it has few members and it does not meet the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law's definition of a union. Mine-Mill also planned to ask for an investigation of where the new union got funds for radio broadcasts, newspaper advertisements, mailings, etc. Strikers suspected that they came from the companies.

The certification challenge was only one in a series of attempts to break the strike by a combination of "citizens committees" and local officials. Mine-Mill has been subjected to intensive red-baiting in Kellogg, where most of the miners live. For months strikers went without public relief until a union campaign forced state officials to grant emergency aid. Hot lunches were withheld at the schools until Mine-Mill agreed to pay for them.

PROFITS HIGH: Through all this the strikers have held firm, partly because of outside help. But they have been without paychecks since May and if the strike is to be won, they need continued support.

The strike began May 5, when 1,700 miners walked out of the Bunker Hill lead mines in Shoshone County in the Coeur d'Alenes. They were joined May 25 by 500 miners at the American Smelting & Refining mines in the same area. In both cases the issues were the same.

The contract had expired on June 30, 1959, but the union continued negotiations. Meanwhile, 95% of the non-ferrous industry agreed on a contract and Mine-Mill asked the Coeur d'Alene companies to meet the pattern. The companies pleaded poverty, refused to raise wages and claimed that the union's demands infringed on "maganegement's prerogatives."

Mine-Mill argued that company profits were high. It pointed out that at one mine AS&R's profit was $1,108,000 in 1958 and $619,000 for the first seven and one-half months of 1959.

In addition, mechanization and selective mining of higher grade ores have increased output and reduced the work force in recent years. There were 19,747 lead-zinc miners in 1952, but only 7,757 remained by July, 1959.

THE ATTACKS: Soon after the strike a red-baiting attack was opened on Mine-Mill by "community" organizations such as the Shoshone County Anti-Communist League, I Am An American Youth and the Common Sense Council, headed by the son of a former Bunker Hill official. They attacked the union and called for an end to the strike.

The organizations recalled that the union had been forced out of the CIO and some of its leaders had been convicted in a Taft-Hartley conspiracy case, now on appeal. They bought radio time and newspaper advertisements to berate the union. Public lectures were held on the dangers of "communism" by imported "experts." The organizations have never revealed where their money came from.

Negotiations resumed in late September with the aid of the U.S. Mediation and Conciliation Service, but the companies stalled. Mediators suggested a session with AS&R officials for Nov. 9, but AS&R general manager Joseph Kieffer proposed instead a meeting after Thanksgiving. Mine-Mill proposed that the U.S. Labor Dept. set up a fact-finding committee, but Kieffer refused. On Nov. 14, the union filed an unfair labor practice charge against the company. It pointed out that in October AS&R had signed a one-year extension of its contract with the union covering its other mines.

Bunker Hill canceled negotiations sessions because it said the challenge by the Northwest Metal Workers confused the situation. It said it would not resume bargaining "until the issue of who shall represent its employes is decided."

HARD TIMES: Life has been tough for the strikers and their families. The union offers no cash benefits; only a strike kitchen for single men and a grocery store for families. For months Gov. Robert E. Smylie refused to make Federal surplus commodities or state welfare funds available to the strikers. After a nation-wide protest last month, he allotted some state relief. But on Nov. 2 Paul Maness, president of the striking local, said in a telegram to the State Welfare Commissioner: "Cash relief cut in half this week by action of State Welfare officials. Water companies threaten cut off water for 50 families. Hundreds of needy families deprived of emergency relief by snail-like processing of authorities." The commissioner answered that if the union's "harassment" continued, "it will be necessary to consider termination of the program of emergency relief."

The strikers have survived through generous outside help. About $60,000 has come from other unions and individuals. Farmer's Union members in nearby areas have contributed food; Teamsters have guaranteed its delivery. Many strikers have left the Coeur d'Alenes to roam the country looking for work; some have gone to Alaska. But most left their families in Kellogg.

BLEAK CHRISTMAS: In a letter to the GUARDIAN, strike leader Maness said: "We had hoped the strike would be settled this month but the company, Bunker Hill, still refuses to negotiate. It looks now as if the strike will go through Christmas unless we can force the company by pressure from all over the country to grant us what 95% of the industry is working under. We have been lucky that the snow has not come as yet [winter weather often hits 30 degrees below zero], but as soon as it does our problems of fuel, clothes and keeping water and lights turned on will be doubled.

"Anything that your readers can do to help, in financial contributions, will be deeply appreciated. If they would also write to Emmett Solomon, senior vice president of the Crocker Anglo Bank, who is also chairman of the Bunker Hill Mining Co., asking him to sit down and negotiate with our union, which has been in this mining property for 67 years, it would be enormously helpful. We are still determined to fight on until we win."

Letters to the Bunker Hill chairman should be sent to: Emmett Solomon, Crocker Anglo Bank, Montgomery & Post Sts., San Francisco, Calif.

Financial and clothing contributions should be sent to Coeur d'Alenes Local 18 Strike Committee, P. O. Box 939, Kellogg, Idaho.

Help make it a warm and cheerful Christmas in Coeur d'Alene

How to double your contribution

IN A LETTER TO FRIENDS, the Coeur d'Alene strikers asked for money and clothing, "particularly heavy coats, mackinaws for children of any age, as well as clothes for men and women." The first freezing snows have hit the area, making the need urgent.

A GUARDIAN advertiser—Harry's Clothes—in addition to making his own substantial contribution offers this plan, with the approval of the Strike Committee, to help keep the strikers and their families warmly clothed throughout the winter. If you will earmark your contribution for clothing Harry will match you dollar for dollar. **Thus, a $5 clothing contribution will buy:**

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Sobell meeting

(Continued from Page 1)

for calm consideration or reflective judgment. It was, rather, a period of fear-ridden panic and intemperate action."

Emerson was critical of four aspects of the case: (1) The "illegal and outrageous" abduction of Morton Sobell from Mexico where he was vacationing with his family; (2) Evidence used against Sobell which was "weak, dubious and in some respects on the incredible side"; (3) The inclusion of the Sobell case with that of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and the consequent linking of Sobell with a charge of international conspiracy in atomic espionage without the introduction of any evidence of atomic espionage in his trial; 4) The severity of the sentence.

Emerson said the confinement of Sobell in Alcatraz, the prison for so-called incorrigibles, was "clearly vindictive and vicious." He said: "Five and a half years in Alcatraz is enough penalty for any man, in my judgment, regardless of his crime. Instead of sending him to Atlanta, Sobell should have been released."

AN INJURED NATION: At a banquet Nov. 19, Rev. Jones, a national board member of the American Civil Liberties Union, said: "The honor and integrity of the United States have been injured. Let us do what we can to mitigate the injury. Let Sobell be pardoned or, at the very least, let his sentence be commuted to the time already served."

Chalmers of the Friends Service Committee said: "During these years of imprisonment for Morton Sobell there have been rising doubts concerning the evidence on which he was convicted . . . If there is as much likelihood as this that injustice has been done, combined with his consistent claim of innocence, our society must face the need for searching review and commutation of sentence."

A LESSON LEARNED: Mrs. Morton (Helen) Sobell said that conference participants had come "in the spirit of love for our country and its fine traditions and history. We come concerned with human dignity and the worth of the individual. Throughout these long 10½ years our family, Morton, his mother, the children and I have learned the lesson of America, that a free people concerns itself with a cry of injustice."

The haunted man

THIS was David Greenglass as he was released from prison on Nov. 17 after having served ten years of a 15-year sentence. Heckled by longshoremen when he left the Federal House of Detention on New York's waterfront (One yelled: "You sent your sister to the chair"), he was taken by attorney O. John Rogge to a secret destination for a reunion with his wife and two children, and disappeared —a tortured, withdrawn figure—to live a haunted life.

An hour-long prayer vigil Nov. 20 at the White House, climaxing the Freedom Weekend, was led by Helen and Rose Sobell and five clergymen. While 250 of the conference participants marched in silent prayer at one White House entrance, a dozen khaki-clad Nazis wearing red and black swastika armbands marched in cadence at another entrance bearing signs which read: "The Gas Chamber for Jew Spies," "Keep the Jew Traitor Morton Sobell in Jail." The two groups of demonstrators were separated by a large contingent of police who ranged about the edges of the sidewalk warily examining passers-by and urging them to move on.

On Nov. 21, four ministers accompanied by Rose and Helen Sobell presented seven bound volumes of the appeal by 1,200 clergymen to Presidential Assistant Rev. Frederick Fox. The appeal, asking President Eisenhower to order a new trial for Sobell or grant clemency, would be brought to the President's attention, Rev. Fox said, and a copy would be forwarded to the Attorney General. The four ministers were Rev. Ernest O. Martin of Washington, D.C., Rev. Milton Andrews of Seattle, Rev. Lowell Wellman of Cleveland and Rev. Alva Tompkins of Chicago.

The same day a group accompanied by attorney Eleanor Jackson Piel discussed the case for an hour with U.S. Pardon Attorney Cobart. The delegation included Prof. Thomas Emerson, Rev. Richard Gatchell of Palo Alto, Rev. Samuel Wright of San Raphael, Rev. Kenneth Beck of St. Paul and Rev. Ashton Jones of Los Angeles. Cozart told the ministers he was familiar with the case and the efforts to secure clemency. Rev. Jones said: "I think we made an impression and got him to do a little more thinking on the matter." Cozart said he would give a report to the Attorney General. He said it is his job to make recommendation to the Attorney General who would in turn make a recommendation to the President. Interested persons can write Cozart at 131 Indiana Ave., Washington, D.C.

"A WONDERFUL SON": At a press conference Nov. 21, Mrs. Rose Sobell, soft-spoken and white-haired, spoke of her last visit to her son at Atlanta penitentiary: "I came away thinking how come I have such a wonderful son." Mrs. Sobell and Helen Sobell had just returned from an unsuccessful attempt to see Mrs. Eisenhower. Helen Sobell said she was "tremendously heartened by the very fine response to the appeal for the Washington gathering and the presence of so many people from different areas of life and especially the full participation of the clergy." Rose Sobell was scheduled to visit her son in prison on Tuesday.

THE SPONSORS: Among the conference sponsors were: Roger Baldwin, ACLU; Rev. John Haynes Holmes; Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.; Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, Union Theological Seminary; Norman Thomas; Dr. Harold C. Urey, Nobel prize winner; Prof. Malcolm Sharp, Chicago University Law School.

A statement of support was sent to the committee by author James T. Farrell, who wrote: "In 1960, we must speak, and with all urgency. We must cry out, we must demand that no possible instance of 'man's inhumanity to man' be tolerated. It is our duty and our honor that we spare no effort for the protection of the innocent, and that in any case of injustice the quickest possible action be taken to rectify this most terrible of evils . . . I ask for and I clasp hands with you in calling for the freedom of Morton Sobell."

Rabbi Jacob J. Weinstein of Kam Temple, Chicago, and national chairman of the Committee for Labor Israel, wired: "I remain steadfast in my conviction that Morton Sobell is innocent of the crimes charged against him, that refusal to free him will be an ugly stain on American justice and further proof that justice and compassion are lacking among those who hold his freedom in the keeping of their hands."

SOBELL'S MESSAGE: In a conference greeting Morton Sobell from his Atlanta prison cell wrote his wife: "I don't despair. I still hope to come out while Mark is but a child and you, my love, a young woman. This is firmly entrenched within every fiber of my living being, and nothing can eradicate it—except death. Thus I really do hope, with all. Only I dare not allow myself to believe this too much."

In contrast to the atmosphere which surrounded the trial more than ten years ago, widespread public support for the Sobell appeal for freedom is apparent today. In addition to the appeal by 1,200 clergymen there is support for Sobell committees in more than a dozen cities across the country. The conference was attended by people from San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle, St. Paul, Chicago, Boston, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Syracuse and Cleveland. Press coverage has also taken on a different tone. The Washington **Daily News** (Nov. 19) headlined its conference story: : "A Continuing Protest: Greenglass Free, Why Not Sobell?"

Asian-Africans

(Continued from Page 1)

said it was "unacceptable" without "appropriate amendments." British Minister of State Ormsby-Gore accused Zorin of attempting to force Moscow's "views down our throats." Zorin said Moscow would further modify its position if Washington made concessions; Wadsworth ignored this and spread the word that the propsal's sponsors had swallowed Moscow's position whole, thus raising questions about their "neutralism."

As debate on the resolution continued, it was clear that Washington remained unyielding on the basic East-West difference of approach on disarmament: whether or not there should be agreement from the start as to the timetable and the ultimate objective of general and complete disarmament as well as on the controlled steps leading to this objective.

ACTION ESSENTIAL: Moscow advocated a comprehensive agreement, including the steps and the goal, to commit the participants to action; Washington refused to commit itself to anything beyond the first step, seeking to leave loopholes through which it could escape further commitments. More and more neutral nations were siding with the Soviet Union on this issue. They thus showed that they were not "neutral" like Switzerland but followed a policy of "positive neutralism" which allowed them freedom to use their influence on the side of justice and peace.

Giving disarmament negotiations a further prod, Poland on Nov. 19 circulated a draft resolution which called for setting up a committee of qualified scientists and government representatives to prepare a report on the effects of nuclear warfare. The aim would be to rouse public opinion in favor of general and complete disarmament by acquainting people with the horrors of such warfare.

On other issues beside disarmament, the U.S. has been alienating even those Asian-Africans normally friendly to Washington. It has also been underestimating the growing maturity of the newcomers to the UN. Early in October, on the question of Assembly debate of UN representation of China, the U.S. won a technical victory, but failed to win the support of any of the 15 new African members; 12 of them abstained, while Nigeria, Mali and Senegal voted with the Soviet Union, as did Ethiopia.

HOW TO LOSE FRIENDS: On Nov. 1 Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria, Somalia, Sudan and Tunisia joined Ethiopia in urging the Assembly to ban the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons in war. The U.S. had considered five of these states practically "in its pocket;" yet the U.S. opposed the resolution and warned against "paper declarations" with a speed which indicated fear that it would be approved when it finally reaches a vote.

The U.S. has been losing Asian-African friends on colonial questions as well. On Nov. 4 Ethiopia and Liberia, acting on behalf of all independent African states, filed with the Hague Court a complaint charging the Union of South Africa with violating its mandate in South-West Africa. Even now the UN's Trusteeship Committee is hearing Africans and Asians warn against violent uprising in South-West Africa if South Africa continues to maintain its brutal control of the territory.

The Trusteeship Committee has already approved an Asian-African resolution demanding reports from Portuguese colonies—Spain has agreed to furnish such reports—which Lisbon considers integral parts of Portugal. In this case the U.S. abstained. Moscow abstained, too, but only because it thought the resolution was not strong enough.

THEY WANT IN: In the first discussion on enlarging the Security Council and Economic and Social Council membership, the U.S. lost out on Nov. 11. UN membership has increased from 51 in 1945 to 98—it will be 99 when the Congo delegation is seated—this year. Asian-African members are demanding two more seats in the 11-member Security Council, with a permanent seat for Africa, and six more in the 18-member ECOSOC.

These UN organs may be enlarged only by Charter amendments requiring a two-thirds majority in the Assembly and the concurrent support of the five permanent members of the Security Council: U.S., U.S.S.R., Britain, France and China. The Soviet Union has warned it would not support such a move now on the ground that the Charter should not be amended without Peking's presence and approval. The U.S. has been goading the Asian-Africans to precipitate the amendment issue at this session.

NIGERIA'S SURPRISE: On Nov. 11 Nigeria's Jaja Wachuku in a surprise move won Assembly approval for postponing its annual election of three non-permanent members of the Security Council for two-year terms and six ECOSOC members for three-year terms. Almost all Asian-Africans, Cuba and the socialist countries voted in favor of the Nigerian proposal. The West now fears that the Asian-Africans may be satisfied with obtaining additional Security Council and ECOSOC representation through re-allocation of present seats in these two organs, instead of enlarging their membership, pending UN seating of Peking.

The U.S. has more jolts coming up as the UN takes up the question of Algerian freedom, independence of all colonial and trust territories and expanded economic aid to underdeveloped lands. Support of the Asian-African and the socialist countries for all these issues is assured, as is the opposition of the U.S. and its Western allies.

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CALENDAR

CLEVELAND

"American Relations With Cuba" Hear **SAMUEL SHAPIRO** Tues., Nov. 29 8 p.m., Unitarian Society, E. 82nd & Euclid. Auspices: Cleveland Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

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on occasion of Willard's return to freedom. Sun., Dec. 18, 5 p.m., Sanford Barn Restaurant, Hamden, Conn. Dinner $7.50. Reservations & contrib. mail to Mrs. David A. Goldburg, Treas., 400 Fountain St., New Haven 15, Conn.

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MILITANT LABOR FORUM will not hold its regular weekly forum on Fri., Nov. 25 because of the Thanksgiving week-end.

PROF. SCOTT NEARING will lecture "The Soviet Union after Sputnik," Sun., Nov. 27, 8:30 p.m. sharp. Auditorium, 2700 Bronx Pk. East (nr. Allerton Av., Bronx). Ausp: Club of Retired People.

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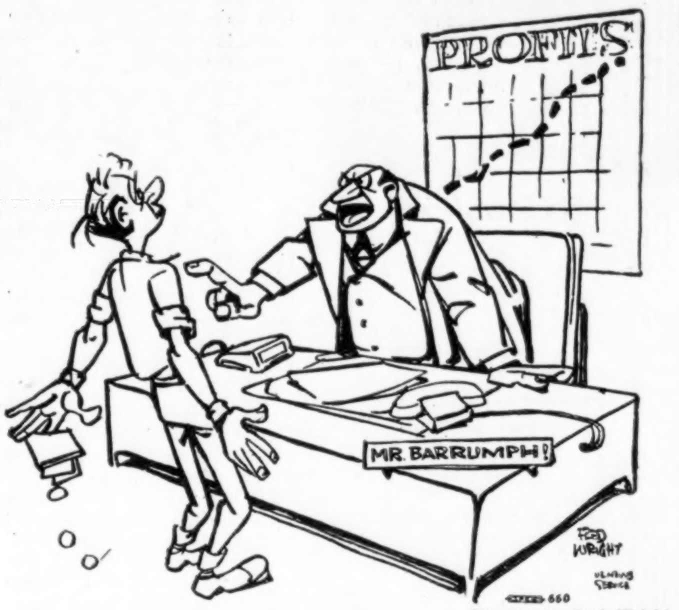
Can't blame 'em

TAIPEI, Formosa, (AP)—More than 2,000 pigeons belonging to the Chinese Nationalist armed forces were lost in a recent test of their homing instincts, the Formosa Military Pigeon Association reported. Approximately 2,100 were released from amphibious planes in the test July 17 and only 30 came back.

—New York **Herald Tribune**



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Shop GBS—See p. 12

REPORT TO READERS

Fidelismo and gunboats

(Continued from Page 2)

"and were finally brought into being with fidelismo as the catalytic agent."

From Washington E. W. Kensworthy wrote in the **Times:**

"What the experts on Latin America fear is the instability in a number of countries—particularly Guatemala, Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador and Venezuela. This instability is a legacy of old wrongs—of peonage, exploitation, police brutality, suppression of liberty, and the postponement of economic reforms by the small ruling classes." Because the U.S. "has had to deal with ruling groups . . . the U.S. has become associated with old social and economic grievances. All this makes fertile ground for 'fidelismo'."

FIDELISMO is a meaningful new word for our vocabulary, and it is to be hoped that the Kennedy administration, despite briefing by Allan Dulles, will take a more enlightened view of it than has the Eisenhower-Nixon-Herter old guard. It means economic development for Latin America **sin amo,** without a master in the form of U.S. industry; and it will not be appeased by handouts for new roads, arms to put down the people and Cadillacs for the "small ruling classes"—the **N.Y. Times'** phrase, please note, not **Pravda**'s. It means raising living standards from the most miserable lows anywhere in the world, with health, education and racial equality guaranteed. It means, in sum, what Cuba is now seeking to achieve for its 6,000,000 people, and unless the U.S. recognizes this and extends a helping hand, rather than the mailed fist of repression, the whole of Latin America may turn its face to the east economically—with disastrous consequences for the U.S. economy, with its reliance on exports.

It now appears that the untimely publicity accorded U.S. maneuvers in the Caribbean may have forestalled any comic-opera plots for an invasion of Cuba by a cat's-paw nation, even though Guatemala is demanding a "Korea-type" police action against Cuba and talks of unilaterally declaring "retaliatory" war. But just in case, the Fair Play for Cuba Committee was organizing a mass picket line before the United Nations in New York on Saturday, Nov. 26, from 11 a.m. to 1 p.m., with picket signs saying **Hands Off Cuba, End Gunboat Diplomacy in the Caribbean, Why Not Patrol the Florida Coast to Stop Attacks on Cuba?** and **U.S. Negroes Demand Federal Troops in New Orleans, Not in Havana!** And in Cleveland, a Fair Play meeting was scheduled for Tues. eve. Nov. 29 at the Unitarian Society, East 82nd St. and Euclid.

At a Fair Play meeting of more than 1,000 in New York's Harlem Nov. 17, NAACP leader Robert F. Williams and William Worthy, correspondent for the Afro-American newspapers, joined other speakers in denouncing U.S. military intervention in the Caribbean. Said Williams: "In Cuba, I first breathed the air of freedom—not in Monroe, North Carolina, not in Washington D.C. and not in Harlem, New York." Worthy told the audience that the white seggregationists rioting in New Orleans would very quickly find themselves "in the revolutionary jug" in Cuba; and added that "The only place in Cuba today where a color line prevails is on the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo."

LIKE THE GUARDIAN, the Fair Play Committee is conducting a tour to Cuba during the Christmas holidays and we both look for plenty of tourists who are game to see Cuba for themselves, witness the giant strides of the agrarian reform, and preview Cuba's Year of Education, 1961. It is a historic time to visit Cuba—a foretaste of things to come in the rest of Latin American. And somehow, we don't think any task force from Guatemala will ever brave the beaches of Cuba in "retaliation" for introducing "fidelismo" tour our language.

—THE GUARDIAN

The Gallery will return in this space next week.

For John Abt

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Only hard-won pages in the lawbooks
bear the signs of turning
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pitting commas against colons
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to yield,
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In your slender stance
before the judges
is the tall strength
of the people,
pouring the sounds of struggle
and the winds of change
into the gavelled silence of the courts.

We clasp your hand, John,
warm with pride,
firm with purpose,
and lifted high towards
tomorrow's world.

Arthur Schutzer

The pitchmen

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Lights are on, the stage is set
For the most inspiring show
Of our "peerless" cigarette.

Gracious lady, lady fair,
Do not ever lose your hope.
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Should you crave that limousine,
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Why delay it, pray come in
Just to have a friendly chat.

Let us keep you safe and sound,
Shield you from a bomb attack
In a shelter underground;
Guaranteed or money back.

William Avstreih

A birthday in jail

WILLARD UPHAUS' 70th birthday on Nov. 27 was to be marked by birthday parties in many parts of the country, even as he passed it in jail. One was planned for Sunday, Nov. 27, from 3 to 6 p.m. in the Hotel Prince George in New York.

Everywhere, well-wishers were urged to send birthday greetings to Dr. Uphaus: Box 9, Boscawen, New Hampshire. It was also suggested that letters on the Uphaus case go to local papers.

Wise guys

ERWIN, TENN.

On landing in Washington, a bunch of up-to-date Martians marched up to the White House and said: "Lead us to your Takers."

Ernest Seeman

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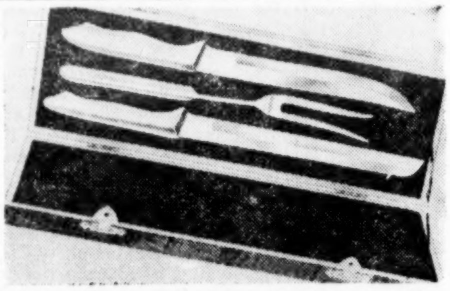

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20" x 72" **$5**

the SPECTATOR

Free world bastion

The following article was written on the eve of the abortive uprising against the Diem regime in South Viet Nam.

SAIGON

WHEN THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE REPUBLIC celebrated its fifth anniversary on Oct. 26, streets here were blocked off by armed soldiers, barbed wire protected public buildings and ships of the U.S. 7th Fleet glistened in the harbor. The U.S.S. St. Paul looked monstrous and efficient with its smoothly swiveling big guns.

The night before the holiday, as we were returning from a restaurant on the outskirts of the capital, our car was stopped by guards looking for Viet Minh infiltrators. Despite all the precautions, everybody expected violence.

There were no incidents in the uneasy capital that day, but the government's insecurity was not concealed by the elaborate parades and fireworks.

President Ngo Dinh Diem was a nobody until imported from the United States to head this "bastion of the free world," and people I spoke with agreed he would be a nobody again without strong U.S. military support. Even now his government's power ends a few miles outside Saigon. In the countryside Viet Minh forces from the north frequently demonstrate their strength by blowing up a supply depot or stopping all cars and arresting any passengers listed in their portfolios as guilty of anti-popular activities.

THE GOVERNMENT conducts "mopping up" operations which seem endless. The papers now play down reports of sabotage, arrests and executions because it is embarrassing to the government to dispose of so many guerrilas only to report that other thousands replace them. When a suspect is arrested for sabotage or similar activities, he is tortured to obtain a confession (true or not), then swiftly tried and shot. On Oct. 25 a small news item reported the execution of a man who had allegedly confessed to setting fire just two weeks previously to the Caltex depot at Can Tho, destroying $42,000 worth of oil.

The thousands of U.S. military "advisers" stationed here also feel insecure: they're under an eight o'clock curfew rule, and they may not leave the country by train or car for fear of some further incident.

The millions of dollars poured into aid to Viet Nam has not bought popularity for the United States government. There is resentment that the U.S.-backed regime, in the name of democracy, denies democracy. Elections, due a year ago, have been postponed indefinitely. Only a very loyal "opposition," misnamed "Socialist," exists in parliament, while none is permitted outside legislative halls. Some months ago a group of respectable citizens petitioned for mild reforms—and landed in jail. Criticism of the government must be whispered, although the whispers are multiplying and may soon become a roar.

THIS, APPARENTLY, is the opinion of President Diem's sister-in-law, Mme. Nuu, reputedly the real power behind the scenes. Having banked newly-acquired millions in the U.S. and Switzerland, and invested in a huge ranch in South America, this lady has been abroad now several months and shows no indication of returning.

Besides Mme. Nuu's obvious resemblance to Mme. Chiang Kai-shek, the Diem regime is generally reminiscent of Chiang's pre-1949 hey-day. Heads of government departments are efficient at lining their own pockets. U.S.-donated supplies appear on the marketplace —though admittedly some of this is due to the fact that the recipients of goods given with charitable intent don't know how to use their windfalls. Bags of clothing arrive unsorted in this steaming hot country, and there's not much you can do here with a fur coat or winter underwear.

Diem has mastered one art: the self-build-up. His picture is posted high on public buildings. When the national anthem starts a movie show, Diem's likeness is superimposed on the waving red-striped yellow flag. Movie shorts provide vehicles in which the beaming President appears again and again.

He put on a splendid show for his own glorification on the 26th, and throngs in the streets seemed to enjoy the brightly-lighted floats and the flaring fireworks. More thoughtful citizens deplored the huge expenditure when poverty is so widespread and profound.

MANY ARE JOBLESS and there is no relief or unemployment insurance. Those with jobs are not much better off, as shown by these wages (72 piastres per dollar at the official rate):

- The guide from the tourist agency, who had to speak foreign languages and look pretty in her costume of silk pajamas under a colorful, high-necked, long sleeved silk toga—100 piastres a day.
- The office worker, with secretarial skills—1,500 piastres a month.
- A bus driver—70 piastres a day.
- A sub-lieutenant in the army—200 piastres a day.
- A newspaperman, one of those considered well off—4,000 or 5,000 a month.
- An unskilled factory worker—perhaps 100 piastres a day.

Hotel rates are high for tourists, and a European-style meal will easily cost $3. But the hotel manager was shocked when I didn't bargain over handicraft items sold by street vendors, and spent as much as $1 on an item which very likely took someone a day or so to make. "You should have paid one-third as much," he said.

These are random impressions, of course, and the statistics are unofficial—there are no official statistics on such matters as unemployment and average wages.

Even a very short sojourn in Saigon, however, convinces me that the volcano of popular discontent will soon erupt.

—**Helen Travis**